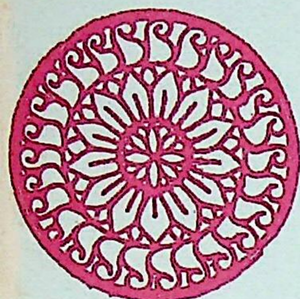
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EDITORS

Gaya C. Tripathi

Maya Malaviya

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The sketch on the cover shows
a lady shooting an arrow

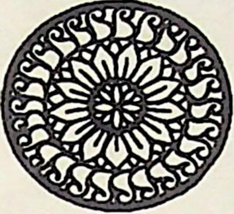
(a terracotta figurine belonging
to Gupta period. discovered
from Ahicchatra, the ancient
Capital of North Pañcāla)

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1999

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विद्यापीठं जयतु जगतां भूयसे मङ्गलाय॥

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BASES OF DATING OF INDIAN BOOKS BY WESTERN SCHOLARS

Surendra Nath Mital
Allahabad

The western writers have made a habit to give late dates to ancient Indian works. Vedic dating by Max *Müller* is very crucial for fixing other dates. The author in this paper has tried to examine the arguments of these biased scholars and opines that all dates of Indian works and history fixed on wrong bases must be re-examined and the Indian tradition must be considered and honoured.

The dating of Ancient Indian books was begun by Western scholars. It would now be preferable to take into account some arguments of those Western scholars, who, while advancing these arguments for fixing the dates of Ancient Indian works, have tried to place these books at as late a date as possible.

Firstly, if some ancient work refers to Greeks (*Yavanas* i.e. Ionians) or Śakas and Hūṇas, they conclude that 'that' work belongs to the period after Alexander or the Śakas and Hūṇas invaded India. For example, Trautmann says[1] that Hārahūraka and Prājjūṇaka mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*[2] refer to Hūṇas not known in India before the late fourth century A. D. That is one of his grounds for placing Books I and II of the *Arthaśāstra* in second century A.D. Apart from the doubtfulness of the fact whether these areas or places are related to the Hūṇas, what is

1. *Kauṭilya and the Arthaśāstra* (Leiden 1971), p. 6.
2. *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya Ed. R.P. Kangle (Bombay 1970) II. 25.25; III. 18.8.

positively doubtful is whether Hūṇas were not known in India before fourth century A.D. "Hārahūraha or Kapiśā no doubt lay beyond the North-West frontier of India. But the belief that regions beyond that frontier were unknown in India before the invasion of India is hardly justified. We have proof of commerce between Babylonia and India long before the fourth century B.C. Sennacherib, the Assyrian king of about 700 B.C., is said to have planted, among others, cotton trees....... These cotton trees came from India.[3] As to Iran it is well-known that part of North-Western India were conquered by Darius about 518 B.C. and incorporated in the Achaeminian Empire to form the twentieth satrapy. An Indian contingent consisting of infantry, cavalry and chariots was included in the army of Xerxes that invaded Greece, as Herodotus tells us[4] ...... There is evidence to show that even during the still earlier rule in Iran there was undisturbed commerce between the capital Susa and India.[5] Besides it has been shown that Indian vessels were coasting along Gedrosia to Arabia and the Persian Gulf before the time of Alexander, for Nearchus got a guide in Gedrosia who knew the coast as far as the Gulf of Ormuz; but from these points, Arab peoples had a monopoly.[6] It is, therefore not unreasonable to suppose that regions beyond the North-West frontier and their products were known in India before the 4th cent. B.C.[7]" Other such facts of Indian contact with the West for purposes of trade and army

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3. J. H. Breasted, *the Conquest of Civilization,* New York 1938, p. 172.
4. A.V. William Jackson in the *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I pp. 334-335.
5. G.G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran,* Chicago 1936, p. 208.
6. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India,* Combridge 1938, p. 367.
7. Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* Pt. III, A study (Bombay, 1965) pp. 75-76 including the references given in the quotation.

and of Indians living there, but also of the borrowing of Vedic goods and of Indian numerals have been given by A. H. Sayce, L.R. Farnell, P. E. Dupont, E.R. Bevan and others[8]. As a conclusion it would be better to quote Bühler here. In connection with the *Gautama Dharmasūtra,* he says, "It has been occasionally asserted that an Indian work mentioning the *'yavanas'* cannot have been composed before 300 B.C. because Alexander's invasion first made the Indians acquainted with the name of the Greeks. The estimate is certainly erroneous, as there are other facts tending to show that at least the inhabitants of North-Western India became acquainted with the Greeks about 200 years earlier."[9]

Secondly, if there is some knowledge which is common to or, if there is some object which is found in both ancient India and ancient Greece or Rome, these Western writers have presumed that it were the Indians who borrowed it from Greece and Rome and not *vice versa.* For example, the idea is put forward that the knowledge of astronomy came to India from Greece, or that dīnāra is a coin which was first minted in Rome and then introduced in India. Therefore the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* which has dealt with astrology, or the *Nārada* and *Bṛhaspati Smṛtis* which refer to *'dīnāras'* are said to have been written after a certain date. Again, such conclusions seem to be onesided and any date fixed on that basis, unless there are other more weighty grounds for that dating cannot be accepted. Kane has dealt with in detail about the knowledge of astronomy in India in the last volume of his *"History of Dharmaśāstra"*[10]. He refers to Thibaut who holds that the knowledge of astronomy in

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8. For all these references see P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. V. (Poona 1958), pp. 598-600.
9. Intro. to *Gautama Dharamasūtra, Sacred Books of the East* Vol. II (Reprint Delhi 1975) pp. 60, 61.
10. Vol.V. Section II op. cit. pp. 463-640.

India before Greek influence was of a primitive character. Whitney is also of the opinion that Hindus had no true knowledge of astronomical science. Kane also quotes Neugebauer that original impetus to scientific astronomy came from Helenistic astronomy.[11] Kane, on the other hand, shows that while the *Ṛgveda* speaks of the *Nakṣatras* and even names some of them, complete lists of 27 or 28 *nakṣatras* are found in *Tai. Saṁ.* IV. 4.10. 1-3, *Kāṭhaka Saṁ.* 39.13, *Mai. Saṁ.* II.13.20 and *Atharva Veda.*[12] The date of the Vedic Age has been put at 4000 B.C. or earlier by Jacobi, Dikshit and Tilak; at 2500 B.C. by Winternitz, and between 1500 to 800 B.C. by Max Müller and other Western scholars.[13] "Even taking these later timings, the Vedic literature shows a good deal of progress in astronomical matters which Indians could not have owed to Greece. There is no extant literature in Greece that can be placed earlier than about 900 or 800 B.C. with certainty. The Homeric poems and the works of Hesiod are the oldest surviving literary writings in Greece. ..... Homer's and Hesiod's knowledge of astronomy was meagre. Hipparchus regarded as the greatest astronomer of antiquity completed his catalogue about 130 B.C. Ptolemy wrote about 130 A.D. [14] Kane gives another proof of astronomy being original to India. He says that according to the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* of the *Ṛgveda* and *Yajurveda,* the sun and the moon started towards the north at the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā (i.e. *Dhaniṣṭhā*) in the month of *Māgha* and towards the south in the middle of *Aśleśā*. Giving his own calculations Kane concludes that the observations of *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* refer to 1168 B.C. Therefore the idea of the precession of equinoxes existed in India much before

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11. *Ibid* pp. 512, 517-18.
12. *Ibid* pp. 98.
13. *Ibid* p. 513.
14. *Ibid* pp. 513-14.

the Greeks.[15] Kane argues further that S.B. Dikshit wrote his *History of Indian Astronomy* in Marathi, which was published in 1894. Even Thibaut "who is generally chary of praising any Indian achievement in astronomy was constrained to observe that Dikshit's work is the richest source of Indian astronomical material....." Dikshit held that the scientific system of Indian astronomy is essentially independent and rests on Indian observations.[16] As regards *Dīnāra* Max Müller says, *"Dīnāra* is derived by the author of the *Uṇādi-Sūtra* from the Sanskrit root *'dīn'*. By other grammarians it is derived from *dīn,* poor, and 'ṛ' to go, 'what goes and is given to the poor'. It is used sometimes in the sense of ornaments and seals of gold.[17]" Apart from the *Uṇādi Sūtras* of which Max Müller speaks, Nārada, who mentions *Dīnāra*, calls it a synonym of *'suvarṇa'*. "Twelve of the latter (i.e. *Dhanaka)* are a *Suvarṇa* which is called *Dīnāra* also[18], whereas the word *suvarṇa* is mentioned by *Manu* (VIII. 134), *Yāj*. (1.363), *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* (II. 9) and Kauṭilya (II.19.4). Therefore it seems that *dīnāra* is an Indian coin originally and the Roman coin 'denarius', if it is synonymous with *dīnāra,* must have been borrowed from India. Similarly the word *'suruṅga'*, which occurs in the *Arthaśāstra* is also said to be derived from the Greek word *'syrinx'* merely on the basis of some similarity of letters. However the similarity between the words *'suruṅga'* and *'syrinx'* is far-fetched and the Santali word *'surun'* meaning a hole is also said to be the basis of the word *'surunga'*.[19]

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15. *Ibid*. pp. 519-20.
16. *Ibid*. p. 484.
17. *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* p. 218.
18. *Nārada Smṛti*, tr. Jolly, *S.B.E.* Vol. 33 p. 232 verse 60.
19. Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, part III, A Study op cit.*p. 77.

Thirdly the Western writers who have given dates to the Indian books are imbued with the Biblic tradition that the earth has existed for 4000 years only, and, they therefore, try to compress all history within this period even though there may be arguments for having an early date either for books or for historical events. Max Müller at the beginning of his book *"History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature"* sings the praises of Christianity.[20] "History seems to teach that the whole Human race (both East and West) required a gradual education before in the fullness of time, it might be admitted to the truths of Christianity. All the fallacies of human reason had to be exhausted, before the light of a higher truth could meet with ready acceptance. Yet the ancient religions were but the milk of nature, which was in due time to be succeeded by the bread of life.... All the ancient religions of the world may have served to prepare the way of Christ." This he does to show that what is written in or the deductions from the *Bible*, are the final word. Later on, in the introduction to his Edition of the *Ṛgveda*.[21] Max Müller relates a story in which a scholar expresses his dissent about Max Müller's fixing the date of the composition of the Vedas at 1200 B.C. "I was not prepared for a question addressed to me rather bluntly by a distinguished philosopher, 'Is 1200 B.C. a primary age of the world except in Biblical geology?' Max Müller is not in a mood to discuss the argument, and he calls the question entirely 'Meaningless' and unworthy of so intelligent and liberal-minded a writer'. Because of the age of the beginning of creation put in Biblic tradition at 4000 B.C.[22], Max Müller has no other option except to place the

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20. *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* p. 29.

21. *Vol.* IV, p. 9.

22. The creation was according to the Byzantine calender on September,1, 5509; in 3960 according to Luther; in 4713 B.C. according to Joseph Scaligar, a 16th-17th Century French scholar; and October 23, 4004 B.C.

composition of the Vedas at 1200 B.C., Because some time must have elapsed between the beginning of Creation and the development of the civilization of the Vedic type. Though his description of the three periods into which he has divided the Vedic Age: the Brāhmaṇa period, the Mantra period and the Chanda period-is such that it cannot be compressed within 200 years each, which he has done, and each period requires a time of at least a thousand years as per his description. Yet, if he had allowed such a number of years for each of these periods that would have taken the Vedic Age to 3600 B.C., and Max Müller, a Christian could not have permitted this heresy. Of course, Max Müller, in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1860) repeatedly says that 200 years for each of these periods is the *minimum* duration that could be assigned to them. He repeats this later (1862) in his Preface to the *Ṛgveda*[23], "All I have claimed for them has been that they are minimum dates." Yet he wants to adhere to his 1200 B.C. as the earliest date for the Vedas. He quotes Colebrooke on the date of the Vedas, "Hence I infer the probability that the Vedas were not arranged in their present form earlier than the fourteenth century before the Christian era."[24]

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according to James Ussher, a 16th-17th Century Anglican Bishop in Ireland (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th Edition p. 1884 under ('Christianity'). An example of how these dates were arrived at is given in Special Study Edition of the *Bible* published at Palm Beach, Florida under the heading "Chronology of the Bible p. 504 in the case of James Ussher. "By adding the time between the birth of the Patriarchs 1656 years are reckoned from the creation to the flood and 290 years from the flood to Abraham's birth, thus yielding a date of 1946 years from the Creation. Allowing two years of Genesis 11-10 and dating Abraham at 2056 B.C. Ussher arrived at 4004 B.C. as the date of creation.

23. Vol. IV. p. XV.
24. Note to Colebrooke's article on the *Religious Ceremony of the Hindus* (Miscellaneous Essays, I p. 200) in the VII Volume of *Asiatic*

Colebrooke had fixed this date ostensibly on the basis of astronomy, and even here "the object of Colebrooke in these remarks is to protest against the received Chronological notions of the Brahmins, who place the Veda at the beginning of the Kali-yuga, 3102". Max Müller controverts even this date[25] of the Vedas i.e. fourteenth century B.C. He refers to Bentley and Archdeacon Pratt. "The astronomical interpretation of the position of the solistial points as recorded in the *Jyotiṣa* (a Book) led Mr. Bentley to the year 1181 B.C. Archdeacon Pratt's letter to Professor Cowell is also quoted, "Hence the age of the Vedas was 3039 on first January, 1859, or their date is 1181 B.C., that is the early part of the twelfth century before the Christian era."[26] Max Müller concludes, "This lucid statement of so careful a reasoner as Archdeacon Pratt shows clearly that the position of the solistial points as recorded in the *Jyotiṣa* belongs to the twelfth century, not to the fourteenth century B.C."[27] Thus Max Müller, even though he says that 200 years assigned to each of the three periods is the minimum, yet he is not prepared to accept any date for the Vedas earlier than the twelfth century, and adds that the soliṣtial points in the *Jyotiṣa* is a confirmatory evidence, "after we have from internal evidence established the existence of the Vedic poetry in the twelfth century."[28] Later in his preface Max Müller continues his attack on the fourteenth century date. During this discussion Max Müller tersely says, "Thus Vanishes the fourteenth century.[29] The sub-conscious influence of

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Researches, p. 283, quoted by Max Müller in this Preface pp. XVII-XVIII.

25. p. XVIII 20e. pp XX-XXVII 20f. p. XXVII.
26. p. XXVIII.
27. p. XXIX.
28. p. XXX.
29. P. XXVII.

this Western thinking is so pervasive that even now no scholar, Western on Indian has dared to put any work before that date (1200 B.C.), because it has been difficult to deny the long tradition of writers down from Sir William Jones, A. Weber, Max Müller to Basham. It was only Tilak who placed the *Vedas* at 4000 B.C. or earlier. In the case of the Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra,* Keith, Jolly, Winternitz and Stein, while accepting the date of Candragupta Maurya as fourth Century B.C., have, ordinarily refused to accept Kauṭilya as belonging to that period, even though in India Kauṭilya and Chandragupta Maurya have been associated together, according to a unanimous tradition. It may be because they want to place Kauṭilya much later than Plato and Aristotle. Jolly, in his Introduction to his edition of the *Arthaśāstra*[30] says that Megasthenese has an idealising tendeney and has given an idealistic description of the Indians which is wrong. According to him the facts about the Indians as found in the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* speak otherwise. Therefore, he adds that Megasthenese may have derived this idealising tendency from Plato, even though there seems to be nothing in common in Plato's idealism and Megasthenese's writings. However, here Jolly seems to be hinting at two conclusions: one, that while plato is idealistic, the Indians according to the description about them in the *Arthaśāstra* are of a lower order, and two, that while Plato is earlier than Megasthenese, Kauṭilya is much later, and that is why the description of Indians in the *Kauṭilīya* and that found in Megasthenese do not match.

Fourthly, the *argumentum ex silentio* is advanced quite often by some western writers while fixing the dates of ancient Indian works. This means that if a writer is silent about some fact or idea or event, the conclusion is drawn that he must have been unaware of it, or that there may have been no knowledge of the

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30. P. 41.

existence of that idea or fact during the period the Writer wrote. Such Western Writers do not at all consider that there may have been some other reason for the writer's not mentioning it or it may not have been mentioned for no reason at all. This is not so only in the case of the *Arthaśāstra,* but in the dating of nearly every work. For example, in his introduction to the translation of the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*[31], one argument of Jolly for considering *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* to be later than the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* is that in connection with the punishment of forgery, while *Yāj.* mentions the coin *'nāṇaka', Viṣṇudharmasūtra,* though having a similar rule, does not mention it. However this conclusion on the basis of non-mention of *nāṇaka*' has not been generally accepted and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* has been considered to be earlier than the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra.* Such arguments, which Kane calls non-mention arguments are found galore in the case of Kauṭilya. All the three writers, who advance the third century B.C. date for the *Arthaśāstra* (Keith, Jolly and Winternitz) have such arguments. They hold that the existence of a person named Kauṭilya is doubtful because Magasthenese does not mention him, or because of their adducing another fact borrowed from Sir R.G. Bhandarkar that while Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* speaks of Maurya and the Candragupta Sabhā, he does not at all refer to Kauṭilya. However Bühler has shown that such arguments do not have much value. In his Introduction to the translation of the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra,* he, as a *Pūrvapakṣa* puts forward the view that because *Āpastamba* is not mentioned in any Vedic work, or even in any *Kalpasūtra,* therefore the *Sūtra* must belong to a comparatively recent period of Vedic history. On the contrary, as an *Uttarapakṣa* he considers the idea as untenable, because, firstly, *Āpastamba* has mentioned Śvetaketu, a Vedic teacher, referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* as an *avara* i.e. as

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31. *S.B.E.* Vol. VII p. XXI.

belonging to his time, and, secondly, because the language of *Āpastamba* is archaic and is pre-Pāṇinian. Jolly himself has decried such an argument as *argumentum ex silentio* when it does not suit him. In the very writing in which jolly has given various non-mention reasonings e.g. those mentioned above in connection with Kauṭilya[32] he opposes a reason given by Jacobi to prove that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is five or six centuries earlier than the *Kāmasūtra* of *Vātsyāyana*. That ground mentioned by Jacobi is that the latter has a knowledge of Vaiśeṣika philosophy, while Kauṭilya does not include it in his description of *Ānvīkṣikī*, Jolly comments, "This is an *argumentum ex silentio* and Kauṭilya may have been acquainted with the Vaiśeṣika system of philosophy though he did not care to mention it." Therefore this type of arguments for fixing the date of a book are not of much worth.

Fifthly, dates for different works have also been determined by arguments about so-called advanced or primitive views. The question arises what is advanced and what is not advanced. It has been held that promiscuity in relations between men and women was earlier and that permanent relationship came later. Similarly is widow remarriage more advanced or the idea of unacceptability of widow remarriage? Again, is caste system advanced or is the absence of castes? It is held that there were no castes earlier and *Varṇa* system which is the basis of the caste system arose later. The *varṇa* system is again being decried now and those who are for its abolition are called advanced. Thus there seems to be no criteria for determining what is advanced or later, and, what is less advanced. A look at what the Western writers say, while determining dates of works, as to what is advanced or not is necessary for understanding whether the criteria that they adopt is correct or not. Bühler, in his Introduction to the translation of the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* says

32. Introduction to his Edition of the *Arthaśāstra* p. 25.

"*Āpastamba* holds in several casas doctrines which are of a later origin than those held by *Baudhāyana*.[33] Bühler continues ."The puritan opinions which *Āpastamba* puts forward regarding the substitutes for legitimate sons and regarding the appointment of widows (*niyoga*) and his restriction of marriage rites may be adduced as examples." (1) Whereas in the case of *Baudhāyana* illegitimate sons, illegitimate sons of wives, the legitimate and illegitimate offspring of daughters 'are all allowed to take the place and rights of legitimate sons'.[34] while *Āpastamba* 'allows legitimate sons alone to inherit their father's estate'.[35] (2) "In like manner he (i.e. Āpastamba) protests against the custom of appointment of childless widows to brothers-in-law or other near relatives in order to obtain sons who are to offer funeral oblations to the deceased husband's manes,[36] while Baudhāyana has as yet no scruples on the subject".[37] (3) "Finally, he (Āpastamba) omits from his list of marriage-rites the *Paiśācavivāha* where the bride is obtained by fraud[38], though it is reluctantly admitted by Baudhāyana."[39] Therefore, according to Bühler puritan views are later and thus more advanced. Jolly seems to have an opinion nearly contrary to that of Bühler. Regarding the date of the *Nārada Smṛti* he places it as not earlier than fourth or fifth century A.D., though the date of Manu has been rightly placed between second centuries B.C. and A.D.[40] One of the reasons advanced for it by Jolly, is "several of the

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33. p. xix.
34. II. 2.3.31-32.
35. II. 5.13.1-2.
36. II.10.27.2-7.
37. II.2.4.9.
38. II.5.11.17-20 to II.5.12.1-2.
39. I. 11.20.1-11.
40. p. xvi.

doctrines propounded by Nārada are decidedly opposed to, and cannot be viewed in the light of developments, from the teaching of Manu." Thus, for example, "Nārada advocates the practice of *niyoga* ....he declares gambling to be a lawful amusement, he allows the remarriage of widows, he virtually abrogates the right of primogeniture ......"[41] So, in a sense, though he may be saying it hesitatingly, the ideas of Nārada, i.e. a later book, agree with those of Baudhāyana (*niyoga* and remarriage of widows) as opposed to Āpastamba and seem to be later, or, in other words more advanced. Kane expresses a third view. Citing all those examples in which, according to Bühler, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba have differing opinions, and the conclusion of Bühler that Āpastamba is later, Kane holds, "These points are hardly conclusive on the question of date. From very ancient times there was great divergence of opinion among doctors of law on most, if not all, these points. There is no hard and fast rule that these doctrines were upheld by later ones."[42] Thus, according to Kane, the so-called priority and posteriority of certain views cannot determine dates. At another place even Bühler expresses the same opinion as that of Kane and contradicts his own views quoted earlier. Bühler says, "It would also be easy to rebut attempts at assigning the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* to what is usually 'a comparative late period' by other pieces of so-called internal evidence tending to show that it is an ancient work. ... This is particularly observable in the rules regarding the subsidiary sons, which place the offspring even of illicit unions in the class of heirs and members of family, while adopted sons are relegated to the division of members of family excluded from inheritance. The same remark applies to the exclusion of all females, with the exception of *putrikās* or appointed daughters, from succession to the property of

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41. p. xv.
42. *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. I. pp. 50-51.

males, to the permission to remarry infant widows, and to the law of *Niyoga* or the appointment of adult widows, which Vasiṣṭha allows without hesitation, and even extends to the wives of immigrants. But as most of these opinions occur in some of the decidedly later metrical *Smṛtis,* and disputes on these subjects seem to have existed among the various Brahmanical schools down to a late period, it would be hazardous to use them as arguments for the antiquity of the *Sūtra.*"[43]

Another general argument for fixing a date is the general historical condition depicted in a book. Now, the date itself of these historical social conditions has been determined on the various grounds that have been referred to above viz., mention of *Yavanas, dīnārs* and earlier or later views etc. and so the connection of dates and the social conditions becomes doubtful. But there is another fact about it. Winternitz says that the *Arthaśāstra* is a theoretical work i.e., Kauṭilya "is purely a theoretician and he just enquires : what is the means useful for the security of government."[44] , though he somehow tries to wriggle out of it by saying that some of the chapters (for example those on selaries of officers, planning and organisation of cities and facts etc.) depict actual social conditions given as theory. In any case all the ancient Indian śāstras are theoretical works and do not state the history of the period, or a description of the social conditions of the time. This fact, apart from Winternitz has been explicitly mentioned by Kangle. Referring to Dr. Beni Prasad's contention that the *Arthaśāstra* reflects the condition of a small state and so could not have been written during the time of Maurya, Kalinga, Andhra and Gupta empires, Kangle

43. Introduction to the Tr. of the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* pp. XXVI-XXVII.

44. *History of Indian Literature Tr. Subhadra Jha* Vol. III pt. 2 p. 59.

say,[45] "A number of misconceptions underlie the reasoning. It assumes that all these authors have taken the political conditions of their day into consideration and that each of these works faithfully reflects the contemporary political situations. There is no basis for this assumption. All these works have derived their teachings from earlier authorities (or from the writer's own thinking—*writer's addition)* and none of them ever intends to make a reference to any "contemporary event." There is another difficulty in trying to correlate the date of a book with the social conditions of a period because the dates pointed out are within very broad limits e.g. Bühler places *Manusmṛti* between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D. or, Jolly states the limits of the date of *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* within fourth to eleventh century A.D. Now which particular century or part of a century does the social condition of the *Manusmṛti* reflect, is very doubtful, and so the corelation of the date fixed and of the social condition, becomes very uncertain.

Seventhly, in the case of the ancient Indian works, a fashionable stock argument is about later additions. Whatever is found by a writer as unfavourable to his theory about the date of a book, is thrown by him into the refuse of interpolations. This is what Bühler has done when he dubs everything in the *Manusmṛti* which is not found in the *Dharma sūtras as* spurious[46] and by Trautmann, who, following Bühler and Jolly[47] holds that the first and last chapters of the *Arthaśāstra,* as also the terminal ślokas of each chapter are later additions.[48] Only major examples have been

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45. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* Pt. III, A study p. 64.
46. Introduction to the tr. of *Manusmṛti*, *S.B.E.* Vol. XXV, pp. LXV-LXVI.
47. Introduction to the Tr. of the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra, S.B.E.* Vol. VII pp. XXVII.
48. *Kauṭilya and the Arthaśāstra* p. 75.

given here of the views about later additions, but other such examples may be numerous. Not only these Western writers, but the Indian writers also, where it does not suit them, have been pointing out passages in various books as later additions. However, any writer's whims about later additions can not be accepted. Only those passages can be considered to be interpolated which are not found in most of the manuscripts, and for this purpose a critical edition, or otherwise, standard addition should be accepted as proof. Of course certain passages may be found in two or more books which may be either wholly or quite similar. Most of the ślokas on *Vyavahāra* (law) in the *Agnipurāṇa* are also there in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* or some of the verses are common to the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* and the *Manusmṛti*[49]. The whole of the time-table of the king in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* is totally the same with the difference that in the latter it is in prose and in the former in verse.[50] These common passages could not be original to the two or more works where they are found. They can be original to only one of them, and it can be presumed that the later work or works have borrowed them, though it does not mean that in the later works they have been interpolated. Though these passages may have been borrowed by the later works from those books to which they originally belonged, the author of the former may have in the beginning of the composition of the book itself placed them there together with his own original composition. There is no necessity to resort to the idea of a remodeller (Bühler)

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49. *Manusmṛti* III 125-26 *Bau. D.* II.8.21-22-*Vas.* XI, 27-28
" III 225- " II, 8.14 = *Vas.* XI. 25.
" IX 3 = *Bau. D.* II 2. 46 = *Vas.* V. 3
" X 91 = " II. 1. 52 = " II. 30
" XI 180 = " II. 1.62 = " I. 22.

50. *Yāj.* I. 327-333; Kauṭ. I. 19.9.-24.

or edition (Jolly or Trautmann). The idea of a floating mass of verses is equally unnecessary, and it has been resorted to by those who use it to somehow make a later work earlier. For example, Bühler holds that there was a *Mānava Dharmasūtra,* the original of the present *Manusmṛti,* and that material in the *Manusmṛti* which is to be found in the other *Dharmasūtras,* must also have been there in that *Mānava Dharmasūtra*, and is derived by the *Smṛti* from that hypothetical *Mānava Dharmasūtra,* while for the other portions one must look towards the *Mahābhārata.*[51] However, later on going through the three *parvans,* the *Ādi,* the *Śānti* and the *Anuśāsana parvans* in detail, he finds that at least 260 verses or parts of verses are common to both[52] , and that "they clearly show that the editor of our metrical *Manusmṛti* has not drawn on the *Mahābhārata*[53]". Therefore, because he wants to prove *Manusmṛti* to be later to the *Mahābhārata,* he thinks that both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Smṛti* have drawn on the "floating proverbial wisdom of the philosophical and the legal schools which already existed in metrical form", Bühler having himself borrowed this idea[54] from Hopkins, though, of course, Hopkins speaks of floating verses only in the name of Manu.[55] Similarly, Jolly finding some passages in the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* common to it and the *Baudhāyana* and the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtras,* and wishing to prove the former earlier to the latter two, later on says that *Viṣṇu* has not borrowed these passages from the latter two, but they are from the same source from which the other *sūtrakāras* have borrowed viz., 'from ancient'

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51. Introduction to the tr. of the *Manusmṛti* p. LXXIV.

52. *Ibid.* p. LXXX.

53. *Ibid.* p. XC.

54. *Ibid.* pp. LXXIV-LXXV.

55. *Journal of American Oriental Society,* Vol. XI, pp. 257ff.

traditions that were common to all Vedic schools.[56] Kane also discounts the theory of floating verses, "It is not easy to believe that there were hundreds of floating verses on dharma nobody knew by whom composed on which writers of the centuries preceding the Christian era drew for supporting their opinions."[57] Therefore the idea of interpolations or of mass of floating verses or of floting ideas cannot be used for purpose of fixing the dates of books.

While dealing with the question of interpolation, another fact that is emphasised, is the *existence of contrary opinions* in a work or in different works, and that is also used for consideration of dating. Jolly, in his Introduction to his edition of the *Arthaśāstra* points out certain matters in his opinion, wherein, the *Arthaśāstra* differs from the *dharmaśāstras*, saying that the "general tendency of the *Arthaśāstra* is thoroughly realistic and worldly, as opposed to the vague idealism and strictly religious principles of the *Dharmaśāstra,* with which it has much in common, otherwise."[58] This difference, or these differences, have been later used by him to prove the *Arthaśāstra* to be later to the *Dharmaśāstras*. "Generally speaking the *Dharmaśāstra* or science of duty has better claims to a high antiquity than the *Arthaśāstra* or science of gain.... Vedic literature bore an essentially religious character and secular topics such as those treated in the *A.* must have appeared important or even wicked to the ancient *Ṛṣiṣ*". "The role of the *A* ...... was much rather that of natural reaction against the high-flown idealism and one-sided religious character of the Vedic lore and literature.[59] However, Indian thought not only accepts various differing and even contradictory views as equally valid, but also tries to synthesis them,

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56. Introduction to his tr. of the *Viṣnudharmasūtra* p. XVIII.
57. *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I, 2nd Ed. p. 52.
58. Intro. *Arthaśāstra* p. 3.
59. *Ibid.* pp. 20-21.

and therefore, these contradictions cannot be used for the purpose of dating. A few examples of such synthesis may be given here. *Manusmṛti* says (on *trivarga* - three worldly goals of life), "*Dharma* and *artha* are said (by some to be) beneficial, and (by others) *kāma* and *artha*, and (by others) only *dharma*, and (still by others) that here only *artha* (is) beneficial, but the (real) position is that *trivarga* (all the three) are (so).[60]" Here there is no attempt to denigrate any of the first four options and all seem to have been shown as equally correct, while as a synthesis the last statement says that the *trivarga* itself is beneficial. This synthetic view about the three is found, not only in the *Manusmṛti*, but also in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. There at one place Kauṭilya is advising the king that though he should not deprive himself of pleasures, he should enjoy *Kāma* without contravening *dharma* and *artha*. "Or, (he should devote himself to) the three goals of life (which are) interdependent upon each other, equally. Any one from (amongst) *dharma, artha, kāma* (if) excessively indulged in, is harmful to itself and the other - two. *Artha* is the foremost, according to Kauṭilya. *Dharma* and *kāma* are based on *artha*[61]. This is for the conduct of the king only (*rājarṣivṛttam)*. The general position of Kauṭilya about the proper relation of the three is found at another place. There it is stated by him, "As *artha* has *dharma* as its root and *kāma* as its fruit, there should be an attempt to obtain such type of *artha* wherein *dharma*, and *kāma* can be had together and the attaining of such a type of *artha* is attaining everything."[62] Here we get a complete idea of the

60. II. 224.

61. I. 7.3-7.

62. IX. 7.81. Here Kangle's translation of *Dharmamūlatvāt kāmaphalatvāt cārthasya* seems to be wrong. He translates it as "material wealth is the root of spiritual good, and has pleasure for its fruit". But if *kāma* is to be the fruit of *artha*, *dharma* has to be its root, and not that *artha* is the

views of Kauṭilya regarding *trivarga*. Firstly he recommends that the state should try to attain *artha,* i.e., for the state attaining of *artha* is the most important. But the attainment of *artha* by the state should result in the joint attainment of *dharma, artha* and *kāma* (obviously the idea is that it is for the society as-a-whole. Lastly, the inter-relationship of the three goals of life is described by saying that *dharma* is the root of the tree of *artha,* and *kāma* is its fruit, which means that *dharma* is of primary importance and that *artha* is dependent on it, and that *kāma* should be placed after these two, as it is dependent on the proper pursuit of *dharma* and *artha.*[63] This spirit of synthesis is not confined to these three goals of life, it extends to every sphere of life. According to Indian thought *mokṣa* (the cessation of the series of births and deaths) is the summum bonum for the soul which remains immersed in different levels of darkness (ignorance) and has to divest itself of that darkness fully in order to achieve this goal. Thus this material life, which is the cause of this darkness, is unreal while reality is beyond it. Thus Indian thought while accepting the unreality of the existence of this world, and the immersion of the soul in darkness (ignorance) because of it, however, does not see any contradiction in accepting the effort to obtain sexual pleasure or material wealth or political power as goals of life for an individual, side by side with *mokṣa,*because, whereas the latter is the final goal, but as this goal is not easily obtainable, for an ordinary individual, the earthly life is also in a sense the reality. Thus the Indian thought does not see any contradiction in accepting two realities, one, the immediate reality, i.e. *artha* and *kāma*, and the

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root of *dharma* as Kangle translates. The two portions of that sentence cannot be translated differently.

63. See "The Relation between the State and the Social System in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra" *in Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. LVI. 1975 pp. 83-84.

other, the cessation of births and deaths as the final reality. The same is true of different aspects of the *varṇa* system. On the one hand there is full emphasis on the purity of the *varṇas,* and, therefore of marriage within the *varṇa* itself, and of strictly adhering to the occupations of the *varṇa*, and the twofold admixture of *varṇas* (whether in relations of sex or in occupations) is decried, on the other hand legal or even extra-legal relations between the sexes are accepted, and the children of such unions are not only given a place in society, howsoever high or low, but have also been allotted occupations. Indian thought accepts that man is weak, and there is likelihood of an individual going out of bounds to satisfy his low cravings. Thus both the concept of purity and of low cravings are simultaneously accepted. The idea, that these two strains, whether in goals of life or in the *varṇa* system, belong to earlier or later thought, because they are contradictory, is foreign to Indian thought. Similarly in the case of meat-eating. Whereas, in brief, meat-eating is allowed because it is the tendency of all living beings to *pravṛttireṣā bhūtānām* (including man), though an abstension from it would be very rewarding (*nivṛttis tu mahāphalā*).[64] This tendency of meat-eating is sublimated by saying that killing for the sake of sacrifice (acts for the good of the world)[65] is not objectionable, ."Sacrifices (have been instituted) for the good of this whole (world); hence slaughtering for sacrifices is not slaughtering."[66] Otherwise, one should not eat meat just to satisfy himself.[67] The rules about women may also be looked into. In the *Manusmṛti* these rules are given

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64. V. 56
65. For sacrifice (yajña) see writer's book in Hindi *Samāja aur Rājya : Bhāratīya Vicāra* published by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, pp. 61-62.
66. V. 39, See also V.V. 30-32, 35-36, 40-42.
67. V. 45-55.

mainly at three places.[68] At the first place (III. 55-62) is explained how men are to treat women. "Women must be honoured, and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law (*devaras*),who are desirous of different kinds of good fortune...... Where the female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes."[69] This is one side of the coin, the other side is found in the 5th chapter (vv. 147-166) where rules have been given to point out to women, how they are to behave. "A woman should not try to be independent. She should remain under the control of her father in childhood, of her husband in her youth, and on the death of her husband (under the control) of her sons. (Whether her husband) is destitute of virtue, lustful or devoid of good qualities, a husband should be worshipped (Or served, according to Rāghavānanda) by a virtuous woman like a god.[70] These are rules of *dharma* both for men and women. In the ninth chapter, on the other hand, are given rules of law (i.e. those rules which are to be applied by the courts, though even here, in between these rules, the writer has not been able to restraint himself from emphasising the *dharma* aspect of these rules) for the relations between men and women (*Strīpuṃdharma* - a title of law), and therefore they show greater permissiveness. In it are given the relative importance of the seed and the soil in the procreation of children i.e. whether children borne in a woman by a person other than her husband belong to the begetter or her husband (vv. 33-56), rules about widow's begetting children from persons other than her husband (*niyoga*-v.v. 57-70), girl's marrying herself after a certain age (vv. 89-93), rules regarding remarriage of men and also women (vv. 71-88) including how long should a women wait for her husband, if he has gone somewhere

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68. III. 55,-62; V. 147-66; IX. 1-103.
69. III. 55, 57.
70. V. 147-8, 154.

else, and then probably go over to another person. The whole spirit of these rules of *vyavahāra* is different from rules of *dharma* in the other two chapters as shown above. Many other such examples of these seeming contradictions can be given which are not really contradictions, but different aspects of a particular matter, and, therefore, they cannot be a deciding factor for fixing dates of books.

Sometimes the dates of some Ancient Indian works are decided on the basis of dates of other works. If the date of a work on which are based the dates of other books is wrong or doubtful the new dates of works so fixed on that ground also become doubtful. Thus Max Müller had fixed the dates of the Vedic Age 1200 to 600 B.C.—the Chanda period running from 1200 to 1000 B.C., the Mantra period from 1000 to 800 B.C. and the Brāhmaṇa period from 800 B.C. to 600 B.C.[71] Those dates were themselves decided by him on the basis of the dates of the *Sūtras* to which Max Müller had assigned the period 600 to 200 B.C.[72] Again Max Müller has also expressed his opinion that all metrical *smṛtis* are later than all *sūtras*.[73] It is on these two grounds that Bühler has put 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. as the date of the *Manusmṛti*, the *Manusmṛti* being the earliest of the metrical dharma treatises. All other such *smṛtis* follow the date of the *Manusmṛti*. These dates are thus so calculated on the ground that the Vedic Age extends from 1200 to 600 B.C. If the Vedic age is placed at 4000 B.C. as has been done by Tilak, all the other dates shall have to be reassessed. Similarly, while discussing the date of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, Jolly first takes up the question of the dates of the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka and of the *Tantrākhyāyikā*. He first refutes all those facts which would

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71. *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, Reprint Motilal Banarasidas, p. 525; Introduction to *Ṛgveda* Vol. IV: p. IX.

72. *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* pp. 229-232.

73. *Ibid* p. 119, also p. 77.

give Kāmandaka and the *Tantrākhyāyikā* dates earlier than he desires (i.e. eight and fifth centuries A.D. respectively).[74] "Thus it is hardly safe to adopt the opinion of R.Mitra in this edition of the work that the Hindus imported the *Nītisāra* into the island of Bali as early as the fourth century A.D. The importation may have taken place at a much later period than that." Jolly does not give any reason for this opinion of his. Another ground for placing Kāmandaka at eighth century A.D. is that 'the *Nītisāra* is once quoted by *Vāmana* (800 A.D.)'. Kane disputes Kāmandaka's date. Kane says[75] Vāmana has not quoted Kāmandaka, but has given some examples of *yamaka* (figure of speech) from some other work which has itself referred to Kāmandaka (परकीयैश्च पुस्तकैः —कामं कामन्दकी नीतिरस्या॰). So if Vāmana belongs to 800 A.D., the book from which he quotes must belong to an earlier period, and the *Nītisāra* from which examples have been given by that work must belong to an even earlier period. Kane holds, "this might take centuries", and therefore, "there is nothing to prevent us from holding that the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka may belong even to the third century A.D." This conclusion seems to be supported by the statement of R. Mitra, the editor of Kāmandaka's work about *Nītisāra*'s importation into Bali in the fourth century A.D. If Kāmandaka belongs to the third century A.D. the date of the *Arthaśāstra* determined by Jolly becomes doubtful and has to be a few centuries earlier. Another basis of fixing the date of the Arthaśāstra by Jolly has been the date of *Tantrākhyāyikā,* the earliest version of *Pancatantra*, as at the very beginning of this book homage is paid to authors of treatises on political science—Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Parāśara, Vyāsa and the great Cāṇakya. This shows that Cāṇakya, placed in the company of traditional scholars, may be much earlier. Hertel, the editor of the

74. Intro., *Arthaśāstra* pp. 7-8.

75. History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I. 2nd Ed. p. 170.

Tantrākhyāyikā in the Harvard Oriental Series is of the opinion that the *Tantrākhyāyikā* is not later than the 300 A.D. (may be earlier). But Jolly is not prepared to accept Hertel's date as it does not suit him and so he says that "this is perhaps too early by a century or so because it was translated in Pahlavi about 570 A.D., and as the translation is in close agreement with the original it could not have been composed long before that time. What Jolly's argument comes to is that if the *Manusmṛti* is translated by Bühler, or the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* by Jolly, in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, and if these translations are very close to the main work these books would have been composed in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries and not earlier, otherwise the translation could not have been so near the original. So the fixing of dates of works based on the dates of the other works is something dubious and cannot be relied on for fixing dates. Not only this, if, however, the dates are mutually determined, as Jolly says, in his Introduction to *Nāradasmṛti's* translation. "The probable date of the Code of Manu may be turned to account for determining the date of the *Nāradasmṛti*; just as the date of the earlier work has been used in its turn for fixing the chronological position of Manu.[76] This fact becomes even more dangerous, for Jolly seems to have done that in the case of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* and the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. Jolly points out the close agreement between the two works and concludes that no long interval of time can have passed between two such cognate productions[77] and he says that as *Kāmasūtra* belongs to the fourth century A.D.[78] the *Kauṭilīya* must have been composed in the third century A.D., and, therefore, if *Kauṭilya* belongs to the third century A.D. (argument spread

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76. Intro., *Nāradasmṛti P. XVI.*
77. Intro., *Arthaśāstra* pp. 21-30.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

throughout the Introduction) naturally Vātsyāyana is to be put at fourth century A.D. Instead of that, what he should have done is that with the *Vaijayantī* of *Yādavaprakāśa* and the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra considering Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya as synonymous (1. वात्स्यायनो मल्लनागः कौटिल्यश्चणकात्मजः। द्रामिलः पक्षिलस्वामी विष्णुगुप्तोऽङ्गुलश्च सः॥ 2. वात्स्यायनस्तु कौटिल्यो विष्णुगुप्तो वराणकः। द्रामिलः पक्षिलस्वामी मल्लनागोऽङ्गुलोऽपि च॥) he should have rather argued that Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana are the names of the same person! This doubtful basis of mutual dating has, therefore, to be given up.

Not that these Western writers, who have unnecessarily given late dates to books, do not understand the wrong bases of some important dates determined by them. That is why they hesitatingly put forward their views when they feel that the dates of some crucial works, which they are putting forward may be ordinarily unacceptable. The two such important examples that may be given here are the Vedic dating by Max Müller, this Vedic dating being very crucial for fixing other dates, and, secondly, the date of the *Arthaśāstra,* which is crucial when seen in relation to the dates of Plato and Aristotle. As already pointed out, Max Müller fixes his date of Vedic works according to the date of the *Sūtras,* to which he assigns the period 600-200 B.C., and, thereafter allows 200 years each to the three periods into which he divides the age of the Vedas-the Chanda period, the Mantra period and the Brāhmaṇa period. Inspite of fixing his dates, Max Müller understands that the arguments that he advances for computing these dates are not wholly correct (or rather, are very doubtful), and also that the conclusions that he draws regarding the dates of *Sūtras,* on such flimsy grounds may not be acceptable, and therefore, he says, "It will readily be seen how *hypothetical* all these arguments are." "*As an experiment, therefore, though no more than as experiment,* we propose to fix the

years 600 and 200 B.C. as the limits of the Sūtra period.[79] The same hesitation appears regarding this limit of 200 years for the Chanda, Mantra and Brāhmaṇa periods. (These periods are themselves a figment of Max Müller's imagination.) "Of course, this is merely conjectural."[80] Later on in 1862 in his Preface to his edition to the IV Volume of the *Ṛgveda* he refers to the criticism by some scholars about his alloting a very short period of 200 years each for the three periods, Max Müller repeats [81] "I need hardly say that I agree with almost every word of my critics. I have repeatedly dwelt on the *merely hypothetical character* of the dates which I assign to the first three periods of Vedic literature.[82] Similarly when Keith places the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* in third century A.D. (originally mentioned in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* 1916-Authenticity of the *Kauṭilīya*), and later on repeats it in *History of Sanskrit Literature,* 1928, and Jolly supports this date in his edition of the *Arthaśāstra,* 1923, both of them express the same uncertainty about this date in their writings, because they know that this date is not in consonance with the generally prevalent view of Candragupta Maurya belonging to the fourth century B.C. and Kauṭilya, named as the author of the *Arthaśāstra* as being associated with Candragupta. Keith says, "That the work was a product of c. 300, written by some official attached to the court is at least *plausible, if it cannot be proved*[83].

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79. *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 1859* , Indian Reprint pp. 217-218.

80. *Ibid* , pp. 394-395.

81. pp. XIV-XV.

82. For a detailed discussion of all the above mentioned facts see the writer's article "Max Müller's Vedic dating" in *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth* Vol. XLV pp. 53-80.

83. *History of Sanskrit Literature* p. 461.

Jolly also expresses himself similarly, "If then, the fourth century A.D. be taken as the probable date of *Kāmasūtra*, the *Arthaśāstra* may have been composed in the third century. This date, of course, *is not final, but may be used as a working hypothesis.*[84]" Though these writers while feeling initially that these dates may be unacceptable express *their doubts regarding their putting up these dates,* they are determined to show that these dates, though hypothetical, are finally correct, and, therefore, not only that they tend to pursue them, but, ordinarily their other fellows also, in their further writings to accept these dates as basic to their arguments, and finally it is shown that these dates are the only correct ones.[85] This is what Max Müller does when in his Introduction to the *Ṛgveda,* Vol. IV he pursues his dates, and somehow tries to show their correctness astronomically (for the astronomical arguments see Kane-*History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. V pp. 497, 508, 513, 882) and that is what Winternitz and Basham do [86] when they support Keith and Jolly's date of the *Arthaśāstra* as correct.

The matter does not rest here. These Western writers try to kill all criticism by the Indian writers, even of savants like D.R. Bhandarkar, Ramchandra Dikshitar, K.P. Jayaswal, P.V. Kane, R.P. Kangle, D.D. Kosambi, N.N. Law and Nilkantha Sastri, by trying to ignore it. Of course, at the time of Max Müller, Indian scholarship in the Western tradition did not exist. Still Tilak had placed the Vedas at 4000 B.C. Yet any examination of Tilak's thesis is unheard of. By the time the date of the *Arthaśāstra* was disputed by Keith, Jolly and Winternitz, a class of English-educated Indians had risen and a host of Indian writers (named above) had controverted their date (third century A.D.). Yet neither Keith himself (*History of Sanskrit*

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84. Intro. *Arthaśāstra* p. 29.
85. *History of Indian Literature* Vol. III. Tr. Subhadra Jha pp. 590-96.
86. *The Wonder that was India* pp. 51-52, 80.

Literature, 1928), nor Winternitz (*Calcutta Review,* April-June 1926), nor Jolly in his Introduction to the Edition of the *Arthaśāstra,* 1923) nor Basham (*The Wonder that was India,* 1956) cared even to refer to them, what to say of replying to those arguments. What they do is that they keep on reiterating their or their like-minded writers' arguments, without replying to them because they themselves have the idea that they have no reply to these arguments. Yet, at least in the case of Basham he seems to have had the feeling (though he does not expressly state it) that the arguments of Indian and Western scholars like Jacobi, Meyer and Breloer are so forceful, that he had to urge his students to try to prove by some scientific method that the *Kauṭilīya* was not written by one writer so that the necessity of an editor and of a late date for bringing together the work of these so called different writers becomes necessary, to give a late date to that work, and this is what Trautmann tries to do. Yet, even if Trautmann's contentions are proved to be wholly wrong by some scholar, e.g. by Ludwig Sternbach in his review of Trautmann's book[87] these views shall again be ignored by Western scholars, who shall still try to carry on their campaign regarding Kauṭilya's date on the basis of what Trautmann has written, even though his statistical thesis may have been proved wholly wrong.

What has being emphasised above is the way the Western writers argue and behave about Indian dating. Inspite of their methods described above, what is needed is that all dates of Indian works, or even of Indian history, fixed on the basis of the above mentioned arguments be re-examined, and, if there is not enough and undoubted corroborative evidence, they ought to be rejected. Not only this, what should be done is that unless dates are based on some dates considered to be certain in the Indian tradition e.g. the Vikrama era or the Kaliyuga era as daily repeated by the priests, or,

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87. *Journal of American Oriental Society,* 1972, pp. 498-500.

some other evidence based on them it should not be accepted. In the case of Indian works what can at the most be proved is which work is earlier and which is later (though the time-gap between them cannot be put with certainty). Nothing more need be said about it at present.

MAIN TRENDS IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE PRE-BUDDHA PERIOD

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The author has discussed in this paper the problems regarding the historiography of the Pre-Buddha Period of Indian History, viz. reliability of literary sources, home of the Aryans, date of the Bhārata war, correlation of the traditional history with Archaeological cultures, processes of social and state formations.

Dimensions of the Historiography of the Pre-Buddha Period

No inscription or coin has been discovered which can be referred to the pre-Buddha period. The South Indian copper plate inscriptions purporting to belong to the reign of Janamejaya have been proved to be spurious. We have, therefore, to rely wholly upon literary evidence for the reconstruction of the pre-Buddha history. Unfortunately, this evidence is mainly Indian, and is not supplemented by those foreign accounts which have done more than any archaeological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation of the history of the post-Buddha age. The discovery of the Indian Civilization no doubt constitutes a welcome addition to the purely literary evidence regarding the ancient history of India, but it offers little direct help for political history, particularly of the Madhyadeśa. However, archaeological discoveries of the cultures

belonging to the Vedic and the so-called 'Epic' and 'Buddhist' periods may be and have been profitably used, as we will see below, to reconstruct the process of state formation.[1]

The historiography of the pre-Buddha period of Indian history, usually called 'traditional' history, has evolved on the following lines, that is historians have mainly concentrated on the following problems :

1. How far reliance may be placed on the Vedic literature and the two Epics and the Purāṇas for the history, or rather 'traditional' history of the period? Which of these two main categories of literature is more reliable? How far the Buddhist and Jaina sources may be utilized to supplement their information?
2. Who were the Aryans? Where was their original home? Were they an ethnic group of a 'people' who shared a common cultural heritage and language?
3. Determination of the historicity and date of the Bhārata War on which the reconstruction of the 'traditional' history rests.
4. Reconstruction of the 'traditional' history and chronology.

On these four points the historians of the pre-Independence period mainly concentrated. In the post-1947 period these questions continued to attract their attention but to them two new questions, on which not much work was done earlier, were gradually added, viz. :

5. How to reconcile thus reconstructed 'traditional' history with the 'cultures' of the Vedic 'age revealed by archaeology? And,

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1. *Epigraphia Indica,* VII, App. pp. 162-63 *Indian Antiquary,* III, p. 268; IV, p. 333.

6. The reconstruction of the process of state formation with the help of literary and archaeological data.

Problem of the Comparative Reliability of Various Literary Sources

According to H. C. Raychaudhuri, A. B. Keith, D. C. Sircar, R. C. Majumdar and many others, Vedic literature belonging to the pre-Buddha period contributes the most valuable information regarding the history of the earliest dynasties. Raychaudhuri has in particular used the Later Vedic texts for reconstructing the history of the post-Parīkṣit-pre-Buddha period. According to him, that these works belong to the post-Parīkṣit period is proved by repeated references to Parīkṣit, his son Janamejaya, Janamejaya's successor Abhipratārin, and Janaka of Videha at whose court the fate of the Parīkṣit was discussed by the assembled sages.[2] Scholars like R. L. Mitra,[3] Macdonell[4] and recently S. R. Goyal[5] have also proved that the Later Vedic texts were mostly composed in the pre-Buddha period.

To another category of the Brāhmanical works, to which no definite date can be assigned but large portions of which, in the general opinion of scholars, belong to the post-Buddha period, belong to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. It is a fact that these texts evolved gradually and, though based on the Vedic traditions, contain material of a much later date. The present *Rāmāyaṇa* consists of 24,000[6] and the *Mahābhārata* over one lac

2. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India,* (6th edn.) p. 3.
3. Translation of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* pp. 23-24.
4. *History of Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 189, 202-03, 226.
5. Goyal has severly criticised L.M. Joshi who claims that the oldest *Upaniṣads* were composed in the post-Buddha period, some of them even belonging to the early Christian centuries.
6. *Rāmā.*, 1.4.2.

ślokas or verses. But even in the first or second century A.D. the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to have contained only 12,000 *ślokas* as the evidence of the Buddhist *Mahā-vibhāṣā*, a commentary on the *Jñānaprasthāna* of Kātyāyanīputra, suggests.[7] It not only mentions Buddha Tathāgata,[8] but distinctly refers to the struggles of the Hindus with the mixed hordes of the Yavanas (Greeks) and Sakas (Scythians).[9] "In the *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa*, Sugrīva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the śakas between the country of the Kurus and the Madras and the Himalayas. This shows that the Greeco-scythians at that time occupied parts of the Punjab. The *Laṅkā Kāṇḍa* apparently refers to the Purāṇic episode of the uplifting of Mount Mandar, or of Govardhana."[10]

The date of the *Mahābhārata* in its present form is also equally late. As pointed out by Hopkins, the fact that at the time of its composition the Buddhist supremacy was already decadent is implied by passages which allude contemptuously to the *eḍūkas* or Buddhistic monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in III, 190.65 'They will revere *eḍūkas*, they will neglect the gods's *ib*.67 'the earth shall be piled with *eḍūkas*, not adorned with godhouses.' With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhistic epithet, Chaturmahārājika in XII. 339.40 and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book.

"The Greeks are described as a western people and their overthrow is alluded to. The Romans, Romakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples, II.51.17, and stand thus in marked contrast to Greeks and

7. *PHAI,* p. 3.
8. *Rāmā,* II, 109.34.
9. *Ibid.* 1.54.21.
10. *PHAI,* p. 4.

Persians, Pahlavas, who are mentioned very often. The distinct prophecy that 'Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians will rule unrighteously in the evil age to come' which occurs in III. 188.35 is too clear a statement to be ignored or explained away."[11]

The *Mahābhārata* contains numerous other allusions to the facts and events of the post-Buddha age. Its Ādiparva mentions king Aśoka who is said to have been an incarnation of Mahāsura[12] and is described as of great prowess and invincible. It also refers to a Greek overlord *(Yavanādhipaḥ)* of Sauvīra and his compatriot Dattāmitra (Demetrius?). The Śāntiparvan presupposes the inclusion of the city of Mālinī, in the land of the Aṅgas, within the realm of Magadha. It mentions Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, Vārṣagaṇya, the Sāṁkhya philosopher who probably flourished in the fourth or fifth century after Christ and Kāmandaka as an authority on *Dharma* (sacred law) and *Artha* (polity) who certainly flourished at a much later date.[13] However, it cannot be denied that the Great Epic contains very valuable though somewhat confused and garbled information for the Later Vedic history.

The eighteen *Purāṇas* were certainly known to Alberuni (1000 A.D.), Rājaśekhara (900 A.D.), and the latest compiler of the *Mahābhārata* who certainly flourished before the Gupta age. Some of the Paurāṇic chronicles are mentioned by Bāṇa 600 A.D., and earlier writers. It is obvious that the extant texts which contain lists of kings of the Kali Age cannot be placed in their final form earlier than the third or fourth century A.D., because they refer to the so-called Āndhra kings and even to the post-Āndhras.

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11. *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 391-93.
12. Note that in the *Devīmāhātmya* 'Maurya' is the name of class of Asuras or demons.
13. *PHAI*, p. 5

The question how far Paurāṇic king-lists and traditions regarding the pre-Buddha period are reliable, is a much debated one. Keith expressed skepticism about the historical value of these texts, and wonders at the 'naive credulity' of those who believe in the historicity of any event not explicitly mentioned in the Vedas, e.g., 'a great Bhāratan war'. It cannot be denied that the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, in their present shape, contain a good deal of what is untrustworthy but it has been rightly said that it is absurd to suppose that in them "fiction completely ousted the truth." The epigraphic or numismatic records of the Sātavāhanas, Ābhīras, Vākāṭakas, Nāgas, Guptas and many other dynasties fully bear out the observation of Smith that "modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the *Paurāṇic* lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition." According to Raychaudhuri also, though it is obvious that :

> The Epics and the Purāṇas, in their present shape, are late works which are no better suited to serve as the foundation of the history of the pre-Bimbisārian age than are the tales of the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Aśokāvadāna* adapted to form the bases of chronicles of the doings of the great Mauryas. At the same time we shall not be justified in rejecting their evidence wholesale because much of it is undoubtedly old and valuable. The warning to handle critically, which Smith considered necessary with regard to the Pali chronicles of Ceylon, is also applicable to the Sanskrit Epics and *Purāṇas*."[14]

However, for the pre-Buddha period Raychaudhuri deems it safer to rely on the evidence of the Vedic texts than on the Paurāṇic testimony. D. C. Sircar and R. C. Majumdar also rely more on the Vedic materials than the *Purāṇas*.

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14. *PHAI*, p. 6.

Pargiter, in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London, 1922) and *The Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), unlike Keith and Raychaudhuri, gives more weight to the Paurāṇic tradition than to the Vedic evidence, and his conclusions were accepted by Barnett.[15] It has been urged by Pargiter that the Vedic literature "lacks the historical senses and "is not always to be trusted." "But", retorts Raychaudhuri, "do the Purāṇas which represent Śākya as one individual, include Abhimanyu and Siddhārtha in lists of kings, make Prasenajit the immediate lineal successor of Rāhula, place Pradyota several generations before Bimbisāra, dismiss Aśoka with one sentence, make no mention of the dynastic name Sātavāhana, and omit from the list of the so-called 'Āndhras', princes like Siri-Kubha (Śrī-Kumbha) Sātakarṇi whose existence is proved by the incontestable evidence of coins, possess the historical sense in a remarkable degree, and are 'always to be trusted'?"[16] F.E.Pargiter himself sometimes rejects Epic and Paurāṇic evidence when it is opposed to his certain theories. As pointed out by Gordon Childe long ago, "The *Kṣatriya* tradition (i.e., Epic and Paurāṇic tradition) - is hardly an unpolluted source of history. The orthodox view is not really based on the priestly tradition, as embodied in epexegetical works, but rather on the internal evidence of the Veda itself. The latter carries conviction precisely because the historical and geographical references in the hymns are introduced only incidentally and in a thoroughly ingenuous manner. The same cannot be said of *Kṣatriya* tradition, which in its recorded form dates from an age (perhaps as late as 200 A.D.) when myth-making had many centuries to work in, and which might serve dynastic ends."[17] Thus, concludes Raychaudhuri, Priority of date and comparative freedom

15. *Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1924, p. 249.
16. *PHAI*, p. 8.
17. *The Aryans*, p. 32.

from textual corruption are two strong points in favour of Vedic literature."[18]

The terms - Brahmanical tradition and Kshatriya tradition - used by Pargiter may be understood in two different senses. Firstly, 'Brāhmanical tradition' may be taken to mean the life pursuits, or any other distinguishing feature of the Brāhmaṇas the main object of its descriptions, while 'Kṣatriya tradition' may stand for those very descriptions regarding the Kṣatriyas. Secondly, these traditions may also stand for those works which were exclusively composed either by the Brāhmaṇas or by the Kṣatriyas. As far as the first meaning is concerned, the Paurāṇic tradition may be styled as a Kṣatriya tradition, since it supplies the genealogies of their ruling dynasties, and their historical actions. But it cannot be said to be exclusively a Kṣatriya tradition because of its treatment of the 'Vaṁśas' the families of gods, and of the Ṛṣis, who were mostly Brāhmaṇas. Regarding the second meaning it is clear that no tradition in India is the exclusive creation of any one Varṇa—Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya and neither the Vedic nor the Paurāṇic tradition is an exception in this respect. Pargiter seems to have confused the two meanings. In ancient India the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas were organic parts of the same bodypolitic. Their functions and interests were not mutually opposed and they did not pull their respective weights in opposite directions. It cannot be claimed that the whole of the Vedas were the sole creation of the Brāhmaṇas or that their sole function is the glorification of the Brāhmaṇas. It is also not conceivable that they exhibited their own selfish interests in the creation and preservation of that sacred lore. Do we not find many Kṣatriyas as sacrificers, seers, and philosophers? Is it not a fact that some of the best contributions to Vedic philosophy were made by the Ksatriyas like Aśvapati Kekaya, Janaka, and Viśvāmitra? It should also be

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18. *PHAI*, p. 9.

remembered that the Vedas are patently religious, sacrificial, and philosophical, while the Purāṇas are not only religious but also professedly historical, political, and mundane. It is no wonder then that the Vedas do not supply as much historical data relating to political history as the Purāṇas do, do not follow chronological sequence, do not deal with the Aryan occupation of India, and do not refer to many kings who made themselves famous.

In the post-1947 period many other scholars criticised the view of Pargiter. According to Vishuddhanand Pathak, "It appeared to 'Pargiter that because the Vedic literature does not supply pure historical tradition and that because it is Brāhmaṇic in its creation and descriptions, the Brāhmaṇas must have lacked historical sense. He seems to have further followed up this reasoning and believed that since historical tradition must not have been absent in ancient India, it has certainly to be traced in the Kṣatriya class, which is represented in the Purāṇas." It was difficult, however, even for him to maintain all along that the Purāṇas are the sole creations of the Kṣatriyas and so when anything was found, which either did not suit his theory or could not be successfully sifted in true historical setting, he arbitrarily fathered it on the Brāhmaṇas on the basis of his axiom that the Brāhmaṇas completely lacked the historical sense. He was able to prove only this much that the original names, Sūtas and Magadhas, were not caste-names but were derived from the countries to which they belonged. But it cannot be claimed that he has also been able to prove that they were exclusively Kṣatriyas? There can be no ground for any definite and clear cut differentiation between the original Purāṇa, which he thought to have represented the 'past', a truly Kṣatriya tradition, and the extant Purāṇas, which he himself accepted to be 'Brāhmaṇic compilations'. Unless the exact subject material of the original Purāṇa is differently found and clearly proved to be the creation of the Kṣatriyas alone representing a tradition going back to quite olden days, the Paurāṇic tradition

cannot be styled as a Kṣatriya tradition. Rather the proof is otherwise. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says that the Adhvaryu-Brāhmaṇas learnt and taught the Purāṇa like the Veda itself. In the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, Nārada in an answer to Sanatkumāra says that he had learnt many 'Vidyās' including the fifth Veda, the Itihāsapurāṇa. It is clear that even the original Purāṇa also was learnt and taught by the Brāhmaṇas. It is also certain that the Paurāṇic tradition has been preserved by the Brāhmaṇas for the last at least three thousand years with the willing co-operation and grateful recognition of the ruling Kṣatriya class."[19]

In the pre-Independence period the *Purāṇas* were denounced by many scholars as historically useless because of their late composition. Their latest redactions are generally accepted to be contemporaneous more or less with the Gupta period.[20] There is no denying the fact that the Purāṇas, as they are found today, are the creation of a period of ancient Indian history, when the Avatāra cult had sufficiently established itself and the Āndhra dynasty had already ruled and the imperial Guptas had emerged on the political scene. But it is also clear that their nucleus existed since the later Vedic times and as we will see below the Purāṇa as an important branch of learning is often referred to in the Vedic literature itself.

In the post-Independence era the controversy regarding the relative value of the Vedic and Paurāṇic literature as a source for traditional history became somewhat subsided,[21] though scholars

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19. V. Pathak, *History of Kosala*, pp. 17-18.
20. Keith, *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 740-41; Fleet, *JRAS* 1912, pp. 1046 ff., also see Pargiter, JRAS, 1913, pp. 255 ff.; *AIHT*, pp. 49-50.
21. However, in 1965 the Centre of Advanced Study, Calcutta University, organised a Seminar on the Bhārata War and Paurāṇic genealogies, the Proceedings of which were published in a book form (Calcutta, 1969). Also see D.C. Sircar, 'Rajavaṁśa Varṇana of the Purāṇas', *Śri Venkateśvar University Oriental Journal*, XX, Pts. 1-2. Jan-Dec., 1977.

continued to make attempts for the reconstruction of the 'tribal' history of the Vedic age with the help of the Vedic sources and of the 'traditional' history of the dynasties of this period with the help of the Epics and the Purāṇas without making much efforts to correlate them. A. D. Pusalkar, for example, in *The Vedic Age,* first published in 1951, writes separate chapters on Vedic tribal history and 'traditional' history. An indepth examination of the reliability of these sources was also not undertaken seriously.[22]

A significant contribution to the question of the reliability of the Paurāṇic genealogies was made by S. R. Goyal who, in Chapter 16 of his *Kautilya and Megasthenes* (Meerut,1985),[23] discussed the state of the Paurāṇic literature at the time of the visit of Megasthenes (c.300 B.C.) and showed that the Paurāṇic genealogies of the pre-Maurya period as known in c.300 B.C. could not have been much different, at least broadly, from those which are revealed to us by the present day Purāṇas. He argues :

> As everybody knows the Paurāṇic literature as is available now was edited in the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods. Similarly, the *Mahābhārata*, in its present form, is the product of the early centuries of the Christian era. These are well-known facts and hardly need any discussion. But what is not so well-known is the fact that one or more Purāṇa texts existed even in the Later Vedic and early post-Vedic periods. 'It is likely that the royal genealogies and ancient ballads of kings and heroes were preserved from very early times by the Sūtas. It is expressly laid down in the

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22. For a survey of the Epic and Paurāṇic studies up to 1955 vide A.D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas,* Bombay, 1955.

23. Also see his *Māgadha-Sātavāhana-Kushāṇa Sāmrājyoṅ kā Yuga* (Meerut, 1988) in Hindi (pp. 48-61) for a detailed discussion on reliability of the Paurāṇic genealogies.

Vāyu Purāṇa (I.31-2) that the Sūta's special duty, as perceived by good men of old, was to preserve the genealogies of gods, ṛṣis (sages) and most glorious kings, and traditions of great men. These accounts probably formed the basis of the original Purāṇa, from which the genealogical texts of the existing Purāṇas were ultimately derived.[24] Pargiter believes that this original Purāṇa was composed more or less about the same time when the Vedic texts received their final form.[25] Whether or not this view (about the antiquity of the original Purāṇa) is correct, it cannot be doubted that one or more Purāṇa texts existed in early post-Vedic age. The word Purāṇa, not as an adjective but as a substantive occurs as early as the *Atharvaveda* where in one passage it definitely means 'ancient lore'.[26] In the same book it flgures twice in the sense of a sacred composition, once with *ṛk, yajuḥ* and *sāman*[27] and again with *itihāsa, gāthā*, and *nārāśaṁśī*.[28] As works of sacred studies *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* occur together in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*[29] and sometimes they are joined together in a *dvandva* compound which indicates their close association and affinity.[30] In 1939 in his Presidential Address to the Indian History Congress (Ancient India Section) A. S. Altekar almost conclusively proved that there

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24. *The Vedic Age,* p. 271.
25. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,* pp. 30, 54.
26. *AV,* X. 1.10.7.
27. *AV,* XI, 7.24.
28. *AV,* XV, 6.4.
29. *SB*. XIII, 4.3.12.13, IX, 5.6.8 *Jaiminīya,* 1.53 *Gopatha,* I, 21 *Tait. Āraṇyaka,* II. 9-11 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upa.*, II. 4.10 IV. 1.2. etc.
30. Pathak, V.S., *Ancient Historians of India,* Bombay, 1966, p. 7.

existed a Purāṇa literature in the early post-Vedic period,[31] which on the one hand was based on genuine Vedic historical traditions and on the other became the basis of the genealogical sections of the present Purāṇas. Now what exactly was the state of the royal genealogies in the original Purāṇa literature? It is here, we believe that the evidence of Megasthenes is of great value.[32]

According to Goyal, "In this connection the first point which is of great significance is that while discussing Heracles with reference to Mathurā, Megasthenes confuses or identifies him with Manu Vaivasvata also and places him 138 generations before Sandracottus (Chandragupta).[33] Now, according to the genealogical tables of the Paurāṇic dynasties prepared by Pargiter, from Manu to the fall of the Nandas 135 generations had ruled over the various parts of the country, Chandragupta Maurya himself belonged to the 136th generation.[34] The significance of this fact from the point of view of the state of the Paurāṇic literature in the age of Megasthenes is that it proves, rather conclusively, that whatever the condition of the detailed myths and legends associated with the various kings, at least the genealogical lists, available in the days of Megesthenes were not much different from the lists as found in the present Purāṇas. The importance of this conclusion for the history of the Vedic age can hardly be over- emphasized."[35]

In 1988 S.R.Goyal also showed in detail how the Paurāṇic genealogies cannot be entirely the result of the imagination of their

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31. *PIHC*, 1939.
32. Goyal, *Kauṭilya and Megasthenes*, Meerut, 1985, 16.1.
33. *Ibid.*, 14.3-6.
34. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-48 and 179-83.
35. Goyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

authors. Drawing parallels between the Vedic notices of royal personages and the description of the Purāṇas, specially in their gāthā portions, of the kings of the same names who are said to have belonged to the pre-*Mahābhārata* or *Mahābhārata* age, he stressed the fact that the Paurāṇic king-lists were based on the genealogies composed in the Vedic age.[36] His conclusions are very significant for further researches on the Paurāṇic kinglists.

For 'traditional' history the Buddhist *Suttas,* Vinaya texts, the Jātakas as well as the Jaina sacred literature are of great help. Several works of the Buddhist canon are mentioned in votive records at Bharhut and Sānchī assigned to the second and first centuries B.C. Many of them refer to the Jātaka stories. The texts of the Pali canon are said to have been committed to writing in the first century B.C. They furnish a good deal of useful information regarding the pre-Buddha period. They have also the merit of preserving Buddhist versions of ancient stories.

The Buddhist material for the political history of the pre-Buddha period as contained in the Jātakas was utilised by R. L. Mehta in his work *Pre-Buddhist India* (Bombay,1939). Mehta accepted the conclusions of Pargiter about the Paurāṇic genealogies and tried to correlate the Paurāṇic data with the Jātaka materials,[37] But he made it plain that "We do not, however, commit ourselves to an admission of the historicity or the authenticity of the individual kings or their accounts as herein given. We have stated the facts, compared them with others and suggested the hints or clues which may prove true in future. This is the only thing possible, we believe, in the present state of our knowledge of Ancient

36. Goyal, *Māgadha-Śatavāhana-Kushāṇa Sāmrājyoṅ kā Yuga.* Meerut, 1988, pp. 48-62.

37. R.L. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India,* pp. 3-71.

India, specially of the period just preceding the Buddha."[38]

As regards the Jaina texts, some of them may go back to a period earlier than the second century A.D. But the Jaina canon as a whole was probably committed to writing in the fifth or sixth century A.D. It gives interesting information regarding many kings who lived during the pre-Buddha Age. The Jain *Purāṇas* of the classical age claim to draw upon the traditions of the last portions of the Āgamas. In these classical Purāṇas cosmography, the biography of celebrities and religious instructions are joined together in the same manner in which they are found in the Brāhmanical Purāṇas. The most popular heroes seem to have been Padma or Rāma, Nemi and Kṛṣṇa, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. Thus the Jaina *Purāṇas* share some common mythical and legendary traditions with the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*, though the accounts are not wholly similar.[39] But their comparatively late date makes their evidence much less reliable.[40]

Problem of the Original Home and Ethnicity of the Aryans.

An important dimension of the historiography of the Vedic age is the problem of the original home of the Vedic Aryans. According to most scholars Aryans came in India from Central Asia or Europe. The geographical distribution of the idioms of the Indo-European speech family and the fact that of all the living Indo-European languages of the present-day it is Lithuanian and not Sanskrit that has kept closest to the basic idiom reconstructed by Comparative Philology, strongly suggest that the Aryans came in this country from some other region.[41] The view was accepted in

38. *Ibid.*p. 2.
39. G.C. Pande, *Jaina Political Thought*, Jaipur, 1984, p. 49.
40. Cf. Law, B.C., *India as Described in the Buddhist and Jaina Canons.*
41. For a detailed analysis of this theory and references see *The Vedic Age*, 1951, pp. 205-15.

The Vedic Age, published in 1951. However, a number of Indian scholars, including M. M. Ganganath Jha,[42] D. S. Triveda,[43] L.D.Kalla,[44] K.M.Munshi,[45] Sampurnanand,[46] etc. believed that the Aryans were an indigenous people of this country. Be that as it may, the idea of the Aryan race became one of the most widespread historiographical stereotypes. Distinction was drawn between Aryans and non-Aryans. In the pre-Independence period the theory of the Aryan race stirred the imagination of the nationalist historians they came to regard the Indo Aryans as originators of human civilization with India as its cradle and tried to push back the antiquity of the Vedic culture, sometimes as far back as the geological epoch. This view of Indian history, based on Mill's periodization of Indian history and adopted by all subsequent historians, received an uncritical acceptance at the hands of nationalist historians. They held that all that is good and beautiful in Indian culture has been the contribution of the Aryans which was contaminated increasingly by the force of indigenous barbarians. The inflated ego of a modern 'Aryan' often looked down upon other people. This created a sharp cleavage between the Aryans and the Dravidians which came to acquire the respectability of an axiomatic truth. There are many premises that imparted a fixity to this picture of the early phase of Indian history. Thus, it is believed that the Aryans came to India from outside, that the Indus Civilization had a Dravidian origin and was older than the Vedic Civilization, that the Aryans came to India in c. 1500 B.C. and destroyed the Indus Civilization and that the composition of the Vedic literature has to be

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42. *D.R. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.*, pp. 1-2.
43. *ABORI,* XX, pp. 48ff.
44. *POC,* VI, pp. 723-24.
45. K. M. Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa,* I, Section II.
46. Sampurananand, *Āryon kā Ādi Deśa,* Allahabad, V.S. 2003.

placed after 1200 B.C. But now it is generally regarded a historical fallacy to equate language with race. A review of the linguistic, anthropological, archaeological, literary and epigraphical evidences has shown that there is no sure proof for the suggestion that the Aryans entered India from outside or for tracing in the reverse order the connections of the Aryans in India with a region outside her frontiers. Recent excavations show that the Indus Civilization was not confined to the Indus valley; its area seems to have been conterminus with the geographical horizon of the *Ṛgveda*. New cultures, some earlier than the Harappan and others contemporaneous with it, have come to light. The new evidence absolves 'Indra' of the charge of destroying the Indus Civilization for which he was accused by Wheeler. The sharp differences between the Vedic and Indus valley cultural complexes are now getting reduced. The attempts to decipher the legends on the Harappan seals as being in the Dravidian language have also recently been controverted by S. R. Rao, who reads in them names and words of an Indo-Aryan language, while A. D. Dani has pointed out that *Yajñaśālās* are found in many preHarappan and Harappan sites of the North-West. Now the thesis of a pre-Aryan Dravidian population is also under criticism from different angles. The supposed presence of Dravidian words in the *Ṛgveda* is being criticised. Anthropological analysis also does not show any marked change in the racial composition of the population in the region in the early periods. The division between the Aryan and Dravidian families of language does not stand the test of scientific scrutiny. It is becoming increasingly clear that the people and culture of South India in the earliest known periods cannot be called Dravidian. That is why in recent years many historians of different hues, including Romila Thapar, D. N. Jha, S. P. Gupta and K. C. Varma, have *mutatis mutandis* rejected the Aryan

race theory.[47] It is what Professor G. C. Pande would call 'a veritable Copernican revolution' (*Studies in the Origins of Buddhism,* Allahabad, 1957, p.251). According to D. N. Jha "In view of the latest researches in biological sciences, it is extremely difficult to think of any ethnic group as having retained its purity of blood". According to S. P. Gupta, the Aryans were only a 'people' who shared a common cultural heritage and also prided themselves in doing so. They undoubtedly belonged to many separate ethnic groups with their local identities fully intact. Hence group rivalries were not uncommon. They fought battles and wars, social customs and practices were also not uniform. Wide differences in matters concerning food-habits and dress-preferences, etc. did exist in the society.

This somewhat new scenario has made the question of the original home of the Aryans redundant since, by and large, it now appears that they were indigenous people who kept on living where they originally lived, between the Oxus and the Gaṅgā. In this context it may be significant to note, as S. P. Gupta points out, that the recent archaeological discoveries made in Pakistan by a team led by Dr. Rafiq Mughal has located more than 250 Harappan sites in the old Bahawalpur region of the Saraswatī basin, known as Cholistan. This is the biggest concentration of Harappan sites known to archaeologists. Hence now many scholars strongly feel that the time has come when we should change the very nomenclature of the Harappan Civilization and call it the Saraswatī Civilization. When seen in the light of the fact that most of the Vedic

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47. Romila Thapar, *The Past and Prejudice,* New Delhi, 1975, pp. 26 ff.; also see her contribution to *Communalism and Indian History,* New Delhi, 1977, pp. 11-12; D.N. Jha, *Ancient India,* New Delhi, 1981, p. 10; S.P. Gupta, personal communication; K.C. Varma, *The Aryans, the Veda and the Kaliyuga Era of 3102,* B.C., Varanasi, 1984.

seers lived and composed hymns on the banks of the river Saraswati, the present-day Ghaggar-Hakra channel flowing through the old States of Bikaner and Bahawalpur, it starts making sense when we say that the Harappan Civilization and Vedic Culture were not two different and opposed entities; these were only two different kinds of manifestations of the same culture-complex, one supplementing and supporting the other. The supposed dichotomy between the Harappan and the Vedic cultures is now fast vanishing since fresh studies of the *Vedas* clearly show that the people were engaged as much in long-distance trade as in agricultural pursuits. Hence the Harappan cities and the Vedic villages belonged to one and the same culture-complex: one supporting the other. Thus, there is hardly any proof to maintain that the Aryan speaking people came to India from regions beyond the river oxus, they were the original inhabitants of India whose geographical boundary started from the oxus eastwards. The Aryans of this highly diversified region were evidently multi-ethnic people with a vast variety of customs and beliefs, dialects and speeches, as well as social and political entities.[48]

Problem of the Historicity of Central Tales of the Two Epics and of the Date of the Bhārata War

The third line of investigation regarding the 'traditional' history of India in which modern historians of both pre-Independence and post-1947 periods have taken interest

48. For the view that the Indus Civilization is Aryan or post-Ṛgvedic vide Lakshman Saraup, *Indian Culture,* IV, pp. 149-69; Pusalker, *ABORI,* XVII, pt. 4, pp. 385-95; S.V. Venkateswara, *The Cultural Heritage of India,* III, pp. 53-63. All these views have been criticised by Pt. K.C. Chattopadhyaya who insists that the Aryans could not have been the authors of the Indus Civilization as their religion was aniconic and they were thoroughly conversant with the use of horse (*Studies in Vedic and Indo-Iranian Religion and Literature,* II, ed. by V.N. Misra, Varanasi, 1978, pp. 41-49.

concerns questions of the historicity of the central stories of the two Epics and the date of the Great Bharata War. In recent years the controversy regarding the birth place of Lord Rāma has generated great heat leading many historians to question the historicity of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and others to reassert with greater vigour than ever that he was a historical personage.[49] The historicity of the central story of the *Mahābhārata* has been much more acceptable to historians. That was so also when the era of Independence dawned. As was pointed out by Raychaudhuri long ago, "Vedic literature contains many hints that the story of the great conflict is not wholly fictitious. Many of the figures in the *Kurukshetra* story, e.g., *Bālhīka Pratipeya* (Balhika Pratipiya), *Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vicitravīrya*, Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra and perhaps Śikhaṇḍin Yajñasena, are mentioned in some of the early Vedic texts, and we have a distinct allusion in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* to the unfriendly feeling between the first of these a prince of the Kurus, and the Śṛnjayas. It will be remembered that the great war described in the epic often takes the shape of a trial of strength between these two peoples (*Kurūṇām Śṛnjayānām ca jigīṣuṇām parasparam*). In the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* Kurus reproach the Dālbhyas, a clan closely connected with the Pānchālas who appear to have been among the principal antagonists of the Kuru leaders in the Bhārata War. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* as is well-known, contains a *gāthā* which eulogises the mare that comes to the rescue of the Kurus. Battle-songs describing the struggle of the Kurus against the Śṛnjayas and associate tribes or clans must

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49. For the *Rāmajanmabhūmi* controversy see Elst. Koenraad, *Rāmjanma bhoomi* Vs. *Babri Masjid,* New Delhi, 1990; Jay Dubashi. *The Road to Ayodhya,* New Delhi, 1992. For various aspects of the historicity of *Rāma-kathā* vide H.D.Sankalia, *The Rāmāyaṇa in Historical Perspective,* Delhi, 1982; D.C. Sircar, *Problems of the Rāmāyaṇa,* Hyderabad, 1979

have been current at least as early as the fifth century B.C., because Vaiśampāyana and his version of the *Mahābhārata* are well-known to Āśvalāyana and Pāṇini".[50]

In the post-1947 period many studies on the historicity of the *Mahābhārata* were published the most significant of them being *Mahābhārata : Myth and Reality,* edited by S. P. Gupta and K. S. Ramchandran (Delhi,1976). It deals with all the aspects of this problem. Now-a-days Raychaudhuri's views on the historicity of the *Mahābhārata* are generally accepted by historians despite his erroneous assumption that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa flourished in an age anterior to that of Rāma—an assumption which has been supported by B. B. Lal but which is against the entire Indian tradition and the generally accepted view of modern historians.

As regards the date of the Bhārata War, which may be regarded as the sheet-anchor of 'traditional' history, the situation in Indian historiography in 1951 was summarised by Pusalker thus :

> According to the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II (seventh century A.D.) the Bhārata War took place in 3102 B.C., which is the starting point of the Kaliyuga era according to the astronomical tradition represented by Āryabhaṭa. But Fleet has pointed out that the reckoning was not founded in Vedic times : it was first started about 3,500 years after the time for purposes of calculation, and was not known to astronomers before Āryabhaṭa. Another school of Hindu astronomers and historians, represented by Vṛddha-garga, Varāhamihira and Kalhaṇa, places the Bhārata War 653 years after the Kaliyuga era, i.e. in 2449 B.C. These two schools thus present conflicting views, and as they are based on a hypothetical reckoning of a late date,

50. *PHAI,* p. 7.

we can hardly attach much importance to them.[51]

Astronomical references in the *Mahābhārata* itself about the position of the *Nakṣatras* and planets have been utilized for determining the date of the *Mahābhārata*. But, the same data have yielded various divergent results. As a matter of fact, the statements in the Epic are conflicting and self-contradictory, so that in order to arrive at some conclusion it is necessary to reject certain statements or their implications as later interpolations or mere exaggerations. No satisfactory and acceptable result can be arrived at from these data.[52]

On the basis of the Paurāṇic tradition about the number of kings that flourished in different dynasties between Adhisīmakṛṣṇa (great-grandson of Janamejaya) and the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda, Pargiter places the Bhārata War in ca. 950 B.C. According to him 26 reigns intervened between these kings, and allowing a period of 18 years per reign, and taking the accession of Mahāpadma in 382 B.C. the period of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa would be (26 x 18 + 382) 850 B.C. And adding a hundred years for the reigns of intermediate kings between Yudhiṣṭhira and Adhisīmakrṛṣṇa Pargiter arrives at (850 + 100) 950 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata War.[53]

Pargiter's date is contradicted by the statement in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* that between the birth of Parīkṣit and the coronation of Mahāpadma, there elapsed a period of 1,015 (or 1,050) years. This brings the date of the Bhārata War to (1015 + 382) 1397 B.C.[54]

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51. *The Vedic Age*, pp. 272.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*, p. 273.
54. *Ibid.*

Most present-day scholars who have written on this problem have usually followed the view of either Pusalker or Pargiter. However, both these theories were severely criticised by H. C. Raychaudhuri. Relying on his own interpretation of the *guru-śishya-paramparās* of the Vedic texts he concluded that the Great War was fought in c.850 B.C. He believes that Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, mentioned in the Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka was separated from the time of Uddālaka Aruṇi by two generations only and from Parīkṣit, the grandson of Arjuna Pāṇḍava, by seven or eight generations. Raychaudhuri placed Guṇākhya Sāṅkhāyana in the sixth century B.C. and assuming that the average length of a patriarch may be about 30 years placed Parīkṣhit in the ninth century B.C. But as was pointed out by S. R. Goyal[55] in 1988, here he overlooked the fact that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* and the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* also contain such *Vaṁśa* lists in which 40 or more generations of the patriarchs are enumerated. Therefore, if Uddālaka Āruṇi of these lists will be placed only two generations earlier than the sixth century B. C. then the last member of these lists, and therefore the final composition of these texts, will have to be placed more than a thousand years later that is in the Gupta age. This will be an absurd position to adopt. According to Goyal, no scholar has paid any attention to the fact that in the Vedic age another Great War, namely the Dāśarājña was fought some centuries before the Bhārata War and that after the Dāśarājña also two kings Parīkṣit and his son Janamejaya, ruled one after another. Therefore, it would appear that while referring to a gap of more than a thousand years between the birth of Parīkṣit and the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda, the Purāṇas had Parīkṣit I (of the post-Dāśarājña period) in mind who had nothing to do with Parīkṣit, the grandson of Arjuna Pāṇḍava. If that is so, then c.1400 B.C.

55. *PHAI*, I, pp. 52.53.

should be the date of the Dāśarājña and the *Mahābhārata* was fought in c.950 B.C. as suggested by Pargiter.[56] Most of these problems have been reviewed by S. B. Roy in his Date of the *Mahābhārata Battle* (Gurgaon,1976) who himself accepts Cunningham's view that the Great War took place in c.1424 B.C.

Reconstruction of the Traditional History and Chronology

The reconstruction of the outlines of the 'traditional' history of India, one of the main dimensions of Vedic historiography, naturally depends on the date of the Bhārata War accepted by the historian concerned. As noted above, in 1922 Pargiter placed the Bhārata War in c.950 A.D. and after working out what he thought was the most acceptable chronological and genealogical reconstruction, tried to identify various Vedic lineages. Later works on the same subject on the whole continued to emphasise the necessity of determining a framework of chronological and dynastic history which in the absence of critical editions of most of the Purāṇa texts led to considerable difference of opinion among scholars. The most detailed of such works was that of S. N. Pradhan (*Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1927). Among other works of the pre-Independence period which dealt with the political history and culture of the Vedic age mention must be made of the *Cambridge History of India,* Vol.I, (*Cambridge,* 1922), the Asura India by Banerji-Sastri (Patna, 1926), *Carmichael Lectures* of D. R. Bhandarkar .(Calcutta,1919). *Rigvedic India* of A.C. Das (Calcutta,1921), *Aryanization of India* of N. K. Dutt (Calcutta, 1925), *Hindu Civilization* (London, 1936) by R. K. Mookerji and the above mentioned work of H. C. Raychaudhuri which traced the 'traditional' history of India from the accession of Parīkṣit.

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56. S.R. Goyal. *Māgadha- Sātavāhana-Kushāṇa Sāmrājyoṅ kā Yuga,* pp. 75-79

Here a few words about some major works on the pre-Buddha period will not be out of place. Mookerji's *Hindu Civilization* (from earliest times up to the establishment of the Mauryan Empire) was first published in 1936. It was intended to be a text-book for students and teachers of universities. In his Preface Mookerji claims that "the work intends to bring together the results of specialised study of the different aspects of a vast subject as part of an organic whole". The book consists of seven chapters-Introduction; Pre-historic India, Geographical and Social Background, the Aryans in India : Ṛgvedic Civilization. Later Vedic Civilization, Indian Civilization in Post-Vedic Literature and Northern India 650-325 B.C. In the Introduction of the book he discusses history as a subject, its scope, method and limitations, its application to Indian history and sources. The chapter dealing with geographical and social background analyses geographical factors influencing history and discusses the fundamental unity of India. The book became a very useful textbook for the period it covers and has been quite popular.

Raychaudhuri's *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, first published in 1932, is a collection of his papers on various topics, such as cosmography, geography and chronology. All its articles speak volumes about his originality and breadth of vision. The articles on the "Antiquity of the Ṛgveda", the Paurāṇic cosmography and the mountain system of the Purāṇas explaining the Indian conception of the Ṛkshavat, Śuktimat and Vindhya range and "the inter-relation of the two Epics" deserve special mention. Raychaudhuri took nothing on trust; he examined and re-examined every piece of literary evidence with extreme care and objectivity and drew conclusions in accordance with the canons of modern methodology. In the words of A. L. Basham, Raychaudhuri belonged to the school of R. G. Bhandarkar

and by his supreme effort tried to discover dry truths.[57]

Raychaudhuri's *The Political History of Ancient India* was a landmark in the historiography of 'traditional history'. First published by the Calcutta University in 1923, it has run into as many as six editions in the course of only thirty-five years. It is a standard work on the subject and considering its subject-matter, originality, manner of presentation and wealth of details, it stands unrivalled even now. It consists of two parts. Part I of the work deals with the period from the accession of Parīkṣit (c.9th century B.C.) following the Bhārata War to the accession of Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha in the 6th century B.C. The chief interest of part I lies in the fact that the author built up a sober history of the period by a judicious use of a conflicting mass of traditions preserved in Brāhmanical, Buddhist and Jaina literatures. In the Preface to the first edition Raychaudhuri observed : "a tendency in current books is to dismiss the history of the period from the Bhārata war to the rise of Buddhism as incapable of arrangement in definite chronological order." He took up the challenge and gave us a chronological history of ancient India of the post-Parīkṣit-pre-Bimbisāra period. He, insisted that the beginning of the 'historical period' of our country should be traced to the accession of Parīkṣit, the grand-son of Arjuna Pāṇḍava. Valuable information regarding the Parīkṣit and the post-Parīkṣit periods had been given by eminent scholars like Weber, Lassen, Eggeling, Caland, Oldenberg, Jacobi, Hopkins, Macdonell, Keith, Rhys Davids, Fick, Pargiter, Bhandarkar and others. But the attempt to frame an outline of political history from Parīkṣit to Bimbisāra out of materials supplied by Brāhmanical as well as non-Brāhmanical literature was made for the first time by Raychaudhuri. A notable feature of his work is his knowledge of the historical geography of ancient India. While writing the political history he discussed with

57. *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, p. 284.

great skill numerous difficult problems concerning the location of Indian cities and territories hitherto unknown.

A significant Hindi work which dealt with the traditional history briefly but somewhat differently was that of Jayachandra Vidyalankar, *Bhāratīya Itihāsa kā Unmīlana,* first published in 1938-40. Its scheme of periodization of Indian history was altogether different than the scheme of other books.

With the dawn of Independence the interest of scholars in 'traditional' history did not decline. In *The Vedic Age,* for example, A.D.Pusalker gave a detailed outline of the Vedic political 'history' with 1400 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata War as his sheet-anchor. In 1959 Govinda Krishna Pillai produced his small monograph from Allahabad, *Vedic History (Set in Chronology*), Pillai maintained that there is no valid ground for beliveing that there was an Aryan invasion of India from outside and that there was no ethnic difference between the Ṛgvedins and the Artharvavedins.

Among the recent work which makes an attempt towards the reconstruction of the 'traditional' history of Vedic dynasties R. Morton Smith's *Dates and Dynasties in Earliest India* (Delhi, 1975) deserves special mention. Morton Smith also published some articles on this subject in *JAOS* and other journals. As critical editions of most of the *Purāṇas* are not available, he has made an attempt to remove this drawback, at least to some extent, by collating and commenting on the variants in the Paurāṇic genealogical materials.

An important trend in the reconstruction of 'traditional' history in the post-1947 decades has been the writing of regional traditional histories. The trend of writing regional histories had started in pre-Independence period[58] but it picked up momentum in

58. Some works dealing sketchily with the 'traditional' history of different regions had appeared earlier : S.N. Singh, *History of Tirhut from the*

the mid-fifties with the publication of D. S. Triveda's *Prāṅ-Maurya Bihāra* in Hindi (Patna,1954). Triveda's work however deals only briefly with the pre-Buddha history of Bihar. Two years later Upendra Thakur's *History of Mithilā* (c.3000 B.C.-1556 A.D.) was published and soon after R. R. Diwakar's edited work *Bihar Through the Ages* (Orient Longmans 1959) saw the light of the day. A much more significant work of this category is Yogendra Mishra's *An Early History of Vaiśālī (From the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Vajjian Republic, circa 484 B.C.*), published from Delhi in 1962. It is really the first work which gives 'traditional' history of a region in detail. Written as a doctoral dessertation it very successfully reconstructs the history of the Vaiśālian monarchy and the Vajjian republic within a definite chronological scheme. A year after it in 1963, Vishuddhanand Pathak brought out his *History of Kosala up to the Rise of the Mauryas,* from Delhi. Also written as a doctoral dissertation it pays greater and more critical attention to original sources. He not only discusses the reliability of the sources. mostly literary, and 'traditional' history of Kosala making the 'Age of Rama' central in his study, but also critically examines in separate chapters the history and constitution of the gaṇa states of Kosala, the principles of state and government of Kosala, general administration, society and religion in the Kosala janapada.

Through his monograph *History of Videha From Earliest Times to the Foundation of the Gupta Empire* A.D. 319 (Patna, 1981), Yogendra Mishra completed his reconstruction of the early

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Earliest Times to the End of the Nineteenth Century, Calcutta, 1922; R.C. Majumdar, (Ed.), *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Hindu Period Dacca, 1943; R.B. Pandey, *Gorakhapura Janapada aura uskī Kshatriya Jātiyoṅ kā Itihāsa*, Gorakhpur, 1946; Promod Lal Paul, *The Early History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1939; R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, 2, Vols. Calcutta, 1930-31.

history of north Bihar for his earlier work on Vaiśālī dealt with the history of western part of the region while his *History of Videha* takes up its eastern part. Like his *History of Vaiśālī* in this monograph also Mishra relies on the Vedic literature, Epics, Purāṇas and Buddhist and Jaina texts which he uses with controlled imagination backed up by logically marshalled arguments. Here the history of Videha is divided into four phases - pre-Bhārata War period down to c.950 B.C., the post-Bhārata War period from c.950 B.C. to c.725 B.C.,the age of decadent monarchy from c.725 B.C. to 347 B.C., and the age of Magadhan supremacy from 347 B.C. to 319 B.C., in which for some time Lichchhavis dominated the area. Of all these phases Mishra describes the administration, society, economy and religion within the limitation of sources. Though Mishra is sometimes speculative and the dates suggested by him are tentative, the reconstruction offered by him is the most plausible in the present state of our knowledge.

The most significant and most interesting regional history of the Vedic age came out from the pen of Buddha Prakash viz. *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab, From the Vedic Age up to the Maurya Period* (Delhi, 1964). In this study the author does not treat 'traditional' history according to the pattern followed by earlier scholars; rather he seeks to interpret it as the story of social movements and cultural formations. Further, he takes into his vision not only the Indian Punjab, Haryana and Pakistani Punjab as one unit but also includes in it considerable regions of modern Afghanistan and even Sind and, thus brings into bold relief the patent fact that political frontiers are illusory landmarks for social forces and cultural processes. He also shows that India was not out and off from the world by her so-called impenetrable frontiers. The history of the Punjab as presented by Buddha Prakash is not the history of kings and dynasties but of tribal migrations and cultural processes. His interpretation of the *Mahābhārata* story is also

unorthodox for he treats the five Pāṇḍava brothers as the symbols of different tribes and the *Mahābhārata* as the saga of the śakas. In brief, he looks upon the culture of the Pāṇḍava as a crucible of diverse strands of the cultures of the Asiatic countries.

Apart from the above-mentioned works several monographs on the histories of the Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan etc., and even cities, have appeared in the post-1947 period.[59] But none of them discusses the problems of 'traditional' history in detail.

Problem of the Correlation of Traditional History with Archaeological Cultures

The fifth dimension of the historiography of the Vedic period is the problem of the correlation of the literary and archaeological data.[60] It is now increasingly realised that significant new evidence on early periods of history is more likely to come from archaeological rather than the literary sources. This makes close collaboration between the historian and the archaeologist necessary. Earlier attempts to correlate archaeology and the literary sources were in the main focussed on the questions of correlating

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59. O.P. Bharadwaj, *Ancient Kurukṣetra,* New Delhi, 1991; H.K. Mehtab, *History of Orissa,* Cuttack, 1949; K.M.Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa,* Bombay, 1955; N.K. Sastri; *A History of South India,* Oxford, 1955; Yazdani, *The Early History of Deccan,* 2 Vols., Patna, 1974; Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa,* Bombay, 1962; Dashratha Sharma, *Rajasthan through the Ages,* Bikaner, 1966; H.A. Phadke, *Haryana, Ancient and Medieval,* New Delhi, 1990; L.M. Joshi, (ed.) *History of Punjab,* Patiala, 1977.

60. For a critical assessment of the comparative merits of the Vedic texts and archaeological data *vide* R.C.Majumdar, 'Ṛigvedic Civilization in the Light of Archaeology', *ABORI,* Vol. XL. In it Majumdar protests against the tendency of Western scholars to minimise the importance of the Vedic literature as a source of history.

traditional Indian chronology with C-14 dates of excavated sites and identifying the Aryans (and also Dravidians) and archaeological cultures associated with them,[61] the most interestirg identification being that of the *Mahābhārata* Aryans with the people of the Painted Grey Ware culture. The problem was posed by Romila Thapar in 1979-80 thus:[62] The making of the Epic inevitably creates problems for the historian, who, in the past, has tended to treat the Epic as a single text of a particular period and has attempted to test it for historical authenticity. Epic events can rarely be precisely dated nor can one speak of an epic period nor indeed can the narrative of the epic be treated without cross-evidence as sober history. Earlier scholars like Hopkins argued (*The Great Epic of India,* New York, 1901) that there were at least two traditions incorporated into the Epic, the original Epic and pseudo-Epic. One was the earlier, narrative layer reciting a series of stories based on bardic material. The other consisted of a member of didactic sections relating to the *rāja-dharma, mokṣa-dharma* etc. which drew on the *dharma-śāstra* literature and which were interpolated into the Epic at later periods with a view to converting it into sacred literature. Romila Thapar supports this distinction and argues that "there is a difference in the depiction of society in these two layers and that

61. Cf. B.B. Lal, 'Excavations at Hastinapur', *Ancient India,* No. 10 and 11, 1954-55; Sankalia, H.D., 'Traditional Indian Chronology and C-14 Dates of Excavated Sites', in V.N. Misra and M.S. Mate (eds.), *Indian Prehistory 1964*, Poona, 1966, pp. 219-35; Allchin B. and R. *The Birth of Indian Civilization,* Harmondsworth, 1968, pp. 144 ff.; D.H.Gordon, *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture,* Bombay, 1958, pp. 59 ff., 83 ff.; Romila Thapar, 'Paurāṇic Laneage and Archaeological Cultures, in her *Ancient Indian Social History,* Orient Longman, 1984, pp. 240-67.

62. R. Thapar, 'The Historian and the Epic', *ABORI,* LX-LXI, Parts i-iv, 1979-80, pp. 199-213.

difference is important to the historical understanding of the Epic. The narrative sections seem to depict societies of tribal chiefships moving towards the change to a state system with monarchy as the norm. There is a strong emphasis on lineage rights and functions and a fairly flexible inclusion of a variety of kinship films. The economy tends to be pastoral-cum-agrarian in which cattle raids and gift-exchange are important components. Heroism is wrapped up in the defence of territory and the honour of the kinsfolk. The didactic sections in contrast assume a highly stratified society with frequent references to caste functions rather than lineage functions. The political system assumes well-established monarchies and an increasing concentration of authority in the hands of the king. The economy is essentially agrarian with a familiarity with urban centres as commercial units. Gift-giving involves the granting of land in addition to other forms of wealth." For the historian, the archaeological correlation with the two layers poses a dilemma. 'If the material culture of the epic is correlated with the earlier PGW culture with which the narrative sections of the Epic seem to agree to a large extent, then the date of these sections can be placed between the mid-second and the mid-first millennium B.C. but the culture will have to be described as pre-urban, transitional between pastoralism and an agrarian economy and probably supporting tribal chiefships on the edge of change to state forms and monarchical systems. The excavated evidence of these levels at Hastināpura and Indraprastha in neither case suggest the splendours of great kingdoms with wealthy capitals; rather, they were people with a technologically simple culture. The elaborate descriptions of material culture with references to a developed agrarian economy and prosperous towns as given in the didactic sections of the epic would perforce have to be dated to periods later than the mid-first millennium B.C. in any corelation with archaeological evidence" It would seem apparent, therefore, that the historian would have to take

different parts of the Epic as having been composed at different periods and integrated into the text at a relatively late point in time. "The epic is historical", Thapar concludes, "to the extent that it presents a view of the past not necessarily in sequential order and frequently with many layers so compressed as to seem contradictory, which we today seek to explain as all glory. The complexity of this historical perspective has first to be determined before it can be regarded as factual data. What is required is perhaps an endeavour to understand the nature of the epic and its historical function rather than its historicity". Thus, the association of the PGW sites and places mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* proposed by B. B. Lal[63] is beset with difficulties. The Epic focusses only on the last part of the Puru lineage. Actually, as a whole Puru lineage seems to have several phases,[64] of which the one beginning with Kuru to the period of the *Mahābhārata* was the last one.[65]

According to Kosambi also, some of the archaeological cultures may be linked with the major lineage of the early tradition. He associated the PGW with the Purus and Chalcolithic Black and Red Ware with the Yadus/Yādavas.[66] But Romila Thapar insists that the term Aryan covers a wide range of groups and ethnic connotation and the geographical distribution of the Aryans is not clear. Therefore, any attempt at correlating Paurāṇic lineages with archaeological cultures is beset with speculation and suppositions. With the literary sources there is not only the problem that the Paurāṇic texts were compiled many centuries after the events referred to and even in the most meticulously maintained oral

63. B.B. Lal *Op. Cit*
64. Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 110.
65. Thapar, op. cit., *Ancient Indian Social History*, p. 246.
66. D.D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1956, p. 139; also see Sankalia, *op. cit.*

tradition chronological discrepancies are bound to enter thereby changing the concordance of event and its record; there is also the problem that the Vedic and Purāṇic texts sometimes are in serious disagreement even with regard to the order of succession of the various descent groups.

If archaeological evidence suggests that the Aryan speaking people settled in India in the post-Harappan period, then a more fundamental question connected with the historical tradition has to be considered. Does the tradition record personalities and events related only to Aryan culture or has it assimmilated those names and events which might refer to non-Aryan and pre-Aryan times? It may be easily assumed that non-Aryan names from an earlier tradition were rendered into Sanskrit. If there is evidence of archaeological survivals from the Harappan culture, then some survivals within the tradition must also have persisted and these may not have been confined only to religious practices.[67]

Processes of Social and State Formation : A New Dimension of Pre-Buddha Historiography

In recent years some scholars, specially historians of the Marxist persuation including D. D. Kosambi, D. N. Jha, Romila Thapar and R.S.Sharma are emphasizing not only on the correlation of archaeological cultures and 'traditional' history but also on the study of the processes of social and state formations as revealed by the two sources. This is an entirely new dimension which the historiography of the pre-Buddha period has taken. D. D. Kosambi[68] describes the changes in Indian society which took place

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67. Thapar, *op.cit.*, pp. 261-62.

68. D.D. Kosambi, On a Marxist Approach to Indian Chronology', *ABORI*. 1950; 'Ancient Kosala and Magadha, *JBBRAS*, XXVII, 1950, pp. 180-213; 'The Study of Ancient Indian Tradition', *Indica*, 1953; *An*

in the Later Vedic and Early Buddhist period as "From Tribe to Society." D. N. Jha (Ancient India, New Delhi, 1977) also gives emphasis on the processes of social and state formations in the Later Vedic age. According to him the Aryans came to India as a seminomadic people with mixed pastoral and agricultural economy having no developed political structure which could measure up to a state in either the ancient or the modern sense. Kingship was a tribal institution. In the Later Vedic age with the transition from pastoral to agricultural economy several new arts and crafts arose, caste system developed and family tended to be more patriarchal - all these developments finding reflection in the political system of the period. Now state tended to become territorial, kingship became hereditary instead of tribal and elective, deriving strength from the newly emerging taxation system and bureaucratic machinery and the powers of the popular assemblies of the early Vedic period declined.

Romila Thapar and R. S. Sharma have also emphasized on the new social and state formations in this period. Romila Thapar moves away from chronological reconstruction, on the assumption that traditional genealogies are rarely faithful records of times past. According to her "genealogies provide elements of other facets of society as well and these facets have often been ignored in the study of genealogical material from Indian sources. Genealogies relate to the past and claim to be records of succession yet very often their preservation (or even their fabrication) is dependent on the social institutions of the period when they were put together and for which they provide legitimizing mechanisms. They are often encapsulations of the migration and movement of peoples in time and to that extent are associated with a geographical locale. However, the genealogical

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Introduction to the Study of Indian History, Bombay, 1956; *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, London, 1965.

record is not based on a region but on the distribution of the lineage which may or may not concide with geographical region".[69] Thapar suggests that three types of information can be gathered from the *vaṁśānucarita* sections of the Purāṇas. She points out that :

> There is first of all the geographical distribution of lineages. Some are relatively sedentary such as the Ikṣvāku in Kosala and Videha and the early Kurus in the Doab. Others tend to migrate and fan out as for example in the extensive network of the Yādava lineages in western and central India and the less extensive network of the Ānavas. The second type of information pertains to social structure. The early Puru and Ikṣvāku lineages are of unilineal descent based on exogamous patrilines (although the evidence from Buddhist sources may indicate the existence of other patterns in the region). The Yādava lineage on the other hand appears to conform more to the segmentary lineage system and the segments associated with western India carry traces of matrilineal forms. The third category of information concerns economic and political status. A distinction can be suggested between the pastoral agricultural societies of western and central India and the more advanced agricultural societies of the Doab and the middle Ganges valley. The latter suggests stable agriculture and the establishment of the state. The accounting of dynasties coincides with the rise of Magadha as an important state in northern India. The genealogies would appear to record the movement from tribal and oligarchic forms to the more complex monarchical states.

One of the problems which has confused the study of these genealogies has been the attempt to equate them with

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69. R. Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History*, pp. 326-27. See also P.L. Bhargava, *Retrieval of History from Paurāṇic Myths*, Lucknow, 1984.

Aryans, Dravidians, Mundas and the like, on the assumption that the *vaṁśas* were distinct ethnic groups with primarily ethnic identities which were being recorded. It is essential to keep in mind that these genealogies were compiled many centuries after the events which they purport to have taken place and should therefore be seen as the historical appreciation of a later age of what it believed were its earlier antecedents.[70]

In his monograph *From Lineage to State* (Delhi, 1984), Romila Thapar dealt with the theme of the gradual movement from a lineage based society to the emergence of a state system in the mid-first millennium B.C. in detail. According to her, "The use of the term 'lineage society' is preferable to 'tribal society' which is what has been used in the past for Ṛgvedic society. Tribal society in the Indian context is ambiguous and includes a range of cultures from stone-age hunters and gatherers to peasant cultivators.[71] The term lineage society narrows the connotation somewhat, is perhaps more precise and also emphasizes the centrality of lineage in all its aspects which is of the essence in such a society, whereas 'tribe' remains vague on this point. Romila Thapar attempts "to relate the early Indian historical tradition to phases of historical change which correspond to the transition from lineage to state systems. The *itihāsapurāṇa* tradition embedded fragmentarily in Vedic literature and the epics and more substantially in the *Purāṇas*, such as the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and later texts, has often been dismissed as a fanciful rendering of the past, since it does not conform to the recognized

70. *Ibid.* pp. 355-56. Elsewhere in this work (pp. 294 ff.) Miss Thapar ferrets out facts of social history from origin-myths as contained in the Paurāṇic genealogies. She gives arguments to prove that origin-myths discharged a social function.

71. R. Thapar, *From Lineage to State*, Delhi, 1984, p. 18.

models of historical writing-the failure to recognize the format of this tradition derives mainly from the inability of modern historians to perceive the essentials of this tradition in the context of the earlier society which can perhaps be better defined if viewed in terms of a lineage society and its mutation in time to state system. In other words the *itihāsa-purāṇa* tradition is seeking to record such a change but the record becomes legible, as it were, only when viewed in terms of its relations to particular social formation."[72]

The awareness of change from lineage society to the emergence of state system is reflected in the texts of the period, where there is a recognition of the absence of a state for the earlier beginnings (e.g. in the Śānti Parvan 59.14). The same sentiment is echoed in the Buddhist texts. Some of this sentiment arose from locating an utopia in the past and, therefore, regarding antiquity as an ideal society not requiring the discipline of a state. The transition was from chiefships to kingships and inevitably with a considerable overlap between the two. Thus rājā in early Vedic society had a different meaning from its use in the Kuru-Panchala period or from the meaning given to it in the republics of the sixth century B. C. The definition in the *Sutta Nipāta* that 'he who enjoys an income from land or from a village is a *rājā*', would have been unacceptable to the Purus and Bharatas.[73] Similarly, the constituents of the *Saptāṅga* theory are noticeably absent in the earlier society. Of the seven elements, the *rājā* and *janapada/rāṣṭra* are referred to although the concentration of power in the office of the rājā and the notion of a defined territory remain vague. There is in Vedic literature little reference to the capitals of the *Jànapadas* and the towns of Hastināpura, Ahicchatrā and Kāmpilya do not seem to 'have been the nuclei of power. The concept of a treasury, a standing

72. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
73. *Ibid*, p. 51.

army as well as a body of ministers appears to be altogether absent. The awareness of the *maṇḍala* theory with its almost mathematically balanced diplomacy is also not there. The pattern of change reflected in the *itihāsa-purāṇa* tradition seems to synchronize with the argument supporting a change from a lineage society to a state system in the middle Gaṅgā valley; a system which later evolved into a variety of states, each deriving its form from the region where it took shape and the degree to which it incorporated facets of the earlier lineage society.[74] In the opinion of Romila Thapar, the *Vaṁśānucarita* section of the Purāṇas was not merely an attempt to record the past, it was also'the clearing house of the genealogical material for contemporary political use'. She further elaborates[75] :

> In the continual process of state formation which was accelerated with the establishment of new settlement serving both to extend agriculture and subsequently often also to encourage trade, new rulers had to be legitimized and this was frequently done by providing lineage links with earlier lineages recorded in the Paurāṇic tradition. In the transition from *jana* to *jāti*, families of chiefs would often claim *kṣatriya* status. This was not only an expression of sanskritization and acculturation but was also an effective means of demarcating those families which could claim rights over land (the equivalent of the earlier *rājakulas*) and those who gradually subsided into the lesser categories of the *vaiśya* and *śūdravarṇas.* The emergence of dynasties which was a major change in the socio-political form, took place in the middle Gaṅgā valley and doubtless posed a threat to the lineage system. Thus Jarāsandha is the natural enemy of the Vṛṣṇis since he portends the birth of the new

74. Thapar, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
75. *From Lineage to State*, p. 142.

state and they represent the continuance of the *gaṇa-saṅgha* system. The *Mahābhārata* war can be seen as the second time marker in the structure of the *vaṁśānucarita* section. Virtually all the major *kṣatriyas* of the Candravaṁśa and many others gather together to take part in the war. What might have been an inter-tribal conflict over succession takes on the dimensions of the end of an epoch. This is precisely what it is; the end of the epoch of *kṣatriya* chief-ships and in a sense the war clears away this system as the dominant political system and makes way for the monarchical state of the middle Gaṅgā valley. That the latter clings to some aspects of the earlier system is evident from the insistence that ideally kings should be of the *kṣatriya varṇa*; however, in fact many were not and some sought a *kṣatriya* status through a fabricated genealogy. The intrinsic sorrow of the battle at Kurukṣetra is not merely at the death of kinsmen but also at the dying of a society, a style, a political form. The concept of the present as Kali-Yuga combines a romanticization of the earlier society with the sense of insecurity born of a changing system and every fresh change of a major kind leads to the reiteration of the fears of the Kaliyuga.[76]

After the rise of Bṛhadratha the rulers of Magadha are listed together with their regnal years and the focus is on the succession in this region. This is particularly stressed. The intention is clearly to suggest that Magadha was the most important state to emerge after the *Mahābhārata* war. With the establishment of the monarchical state, these (Magadhan dynasties) alone are considered worthy of record, even when the dynasties are not of *kṣtatriya* origin and are as low as *Śūdra* as in the case of the Nandas.[77]

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76. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 142.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

According to Thapar, the transition from the lineage system to the state is reflected in the Buddhist literature as well. The Śākyas, for example, bear all the marks of a lineage society. They claim descent from the Ikṣvāku line, or Okkāka as it is called in Pali sources. The origin myth of the Koliya clan links them to the Śākyas stating that the Koliyas married the Śākya women who were their maternal uncles' daughters. The new group in each case migrates away from the old and establishes its own *janapada* with its capital. The Paurāṇic sources are either silent about these clans or cursorily mention a few names. Clearly Paurāṇic authors did not approve of them, probably because they maintained a non-monarchic system.

The problem of state formation in the Vedic age has been discussed in depth by R.S.Sharma also (*Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India,* Delhi, 1983).[78] Utilizing both literary and archaeological sources for this purpose, he comes to the conclusion that the cattle pastoralism of the *Ṛgveda* supplemented by farming was a far cry from Harappan urbanism and that in contrast to the Ṛgvedic society, the later Vedic society was marked by the dominance of the priestly class which appears to be as important as the nobles and warriors. Differing somewhat from D. N. Jha, R. S. Sharma believes that the two crucial social formations, the class and the state, were not well-established in the later Vedic age. The Vedic communities had neither a regular taxation system nor a regular standing army. He argues that:

> Collectors of taxes did not exist apart from the kinsmen of the prince, and the difference between tax and sacrificial offering called *bali* had not been completely

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78. See also 'Production Techniques and Social Formation in Vedic and post-Vedic Times', Suraj Bhan's review article on Sharma's work in *The Indian Historical Review,* XI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 111-16.

blurred. We do not get direct evidence regarding the prevalence of any system of taxation. The tribal militia of the pastoral society was replaced by the peasant militia of agricultural society, for without a well-established taxation system it was not possible to maintain a regular army. Although the terms *senā, senānī* and *senāpati* are mentioned at several places, there is nothing to show that the kings of the Vedic age kept up a professional army all the year round. The *viś* was associated with the *senā* or the armed host. Force or *bala* was considered to be identical with the *viś* or the peasantry in later Vedic times, who, as distant kinsmen of the king received a share of the booty. The army to protect the *aśvamedha* horse comprised both the Kṣatriya and the *viś*. Armed with bows, quivers and shields, the former acted as military captains and leaders; armed with sticks, the latter constituted the rank and file. For the sake of victory the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* advises a chief or a noble to eat from the same vessel with the *viś* whose help is declared to be indispensable to his success.[79]

The element of kinship was still strong, and the territorial idea did not submerge tribal ties. The peasants were not completely alienated from the princes and priests who were getting differentiated within the tribal communities. Towards the end of the Vedic period the peasant paid to the nobles and warriors who in their turn paid generously to the priests in addition the peasant also paid a sacricificial fee to the priests. Artisans,such as smiths, chariotmakers and carpenters mainly served the emerging class of warriors. It seems that in the exchange of goods, gifts played a more important part than trade. The Later Vedic pendant did not have to

79. R.S. Sharma, *Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India*, pp. 82-84.

support towns and traders, a feature which became profluent in the age of the Buddha. His was a small-scale non-monetary peasant society and not a fullfledged class society. *Niṣka* and *śatamāna* served as 'prestige' objects mentioned in connection with gifts. It was, thus, a peasant society with prominent tribal characteristics. In spite of the priestly stress on the subjection of the peasantry of Vaiśyas to the nobles and warrior, the limited availability of agricultural surplus on account of prefield wooden ploughshare-based agriculture and indiscriminate killing of cattle in sacrifices, could not sharpen class antagonisms. On the other hand, tribal practices demanded that princes extend agriculture and even lend their hand to the plough, so that the gap between the *Vaiśya* and the *Rājanya* was not very wide. The princes were also expected to share their wealth with the people in public sacrifices and on other occasions. Although the nobles and warriors ruled out their peasant kinsmen, their dependence on the peasant militia during battles against their enemies and inability to grant land without the consent of the tribal peasantry placed them in a difficult position. To such a formation the term 'chiefdom' used by anthropologists may be applied, although this is now being discarded. In any case chiefdom may be considered to be phase of transition from an egalitarian tribal society, of which we have strong traces in some institutions of the *Ṛg-Veda*, to a society which is marked by the emergence of ranks and an incipient state. Sometimes a strong element of priesthood is associated with chiefdom; this may be true of later Vedic times but not of the *Ṛg-Veda* which also betrays some traits of tribal chieftaincy.[80]

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80. *Ibid.*, p. 5

BADHĀLA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF NĀGABHAṬA II, SAṂVAT 882

Dr. D. P. Dubey
Allahabad

The author re-edits an important copper-plate grant of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa-II of Kannauj (815CE-830CE) which was unearthed in a village in the District of Jaipur (Raj.), throws new light on its date and discusses extensively its historical importance. This inscription conclusively proves that Nāgabhaṭa-II occupied the throne of Kannauj latest by 815 CE and that his empire extended upto a major part of Rajasthan in the west.

The copper-plate, which bears this inscription, was unearthed, together with another copper-plate[1] by one Rajendra Purohit (Kauthaḍiyā Pāreekh brāhmaṇa) in 1982, while digging in the kitchen garden of his house in the village named Badhāla in the Jaipur district of Rajasthan. It was then removed by the district officials to the office of the District Magistrate, from where it was brought to the Department of Archaeology and Museums of the Rajasthan State Government. The thoroughly cleaned plate is now preserved in the State Museum Hawa Mahal at Jaipur. Rawat Saraswat realised the historical importance of the plate and published

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1. This is of the Pratīhāra king Bhoja I, dated *Saṃvat* 898, edited by Rawat Saraswat in the *Varadā,* year 28, number 3, July-September 1985, pp. 14-21. It will be re-edited by me in near future.

its text with the Hindi translation and short-notes, but without any facsimile, in the *Varadā* (the quarterly magazine of the Rajasthan Sāhitya Samiti, Bisāu), year 28, number 3, July-September 1985, pp. 2-13. I found that his readings of this inscription required revision. Also, its date was misread and, in consequence, grossly misunderstood. I, therefore, re-edit it, with the kind permission[2] of the Director of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan Government from a photo supplied to me by the Superintendent of the State Museum Hawa Mahal. The readings of the record were, however, checked by me from the original plate by a visit to the Museum in April 1998.

This is a single plate, inscribed on one side only. Unlike the Sambhal[3] and Surāpura[4] plates of king Nāgabhaṭa II, the seal is intact in it. The plate is about 65 cm broad by 50 cm high, and its total weight with seal is 17 kg. The edges of it were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surface, with a slight depression all round inside them, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing. There are 13 lines of writing on it, each containing 33 letters on an

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2. *Vide* letter no. PS/T/97/2425, dated March 19, 1997.
3. D.P. Dubey, 1993-94, "Sambhal Copper-plate of Nāgabhaṭa II, V.Ṣ 885" , *Prāgdhārā,* Vol. 4 (4), pp. 105-110.
4. ...... 1997-98, "A Newly Discovered Copper-plate Inscription of Nāgabhaṭa II, V.S. 884", *Prāgdhārā,* Vol. 8(8), pp. 199-201.
   Its find-spot was unknown when I published it. Subsequent enquiries revealed that it was obtained from the village-market Surāpura in the tehsil Kādīpur of Sultānpur district. U.P. Therefore, I would like to call it as 'Surāpura grant'. Of the then unidentified donated villages, I propose to identity Śīlakā with Surāpura. 10 km east of the tehsil headquarters, on the Sultānpur-Āzamgarh road. The name of Vicchinapallikā possibly survives in the village of Vijeṭhuā, about 3 km north of Surāpura, which is now famous for a temple dedicated to Mahāvīra (Hanumān), with a tank known as Makarī Kuṇḍa attached to it. I had correctly conjectured the identification of Candārika, the headquarters of *viṣaya* and *maṇḍala*, with Cāndā, Surāpura being about 20 km north-east of it .

average, the last line being shorter than the other ones. The size of letters is between 1.5 cm and 2 cm. The engraving is bold and excellent, the writing is well preserved throughout. The plate is thick, and the letters do not show through on the back of it at all.

On to the proper right side of the plate, there is soldered a thick and massive seal with a high raised rim all round it, measuring about 23.5 cm by 16.3 cm, and rectangular, except that the top of it is raised into an arched peak with a slight depression on each side of it. In the arch thus formed, there is the standing figure (7cm × 5 cm), facing full front, of a goddess, doubtless the Bhagavatī who is mentioned in the inscription and below this, across the surface of the seal, there are the eight lines of writing, *a* to *h*, covering about 15 cm of space with each line containing 13 letters. Unlike the body of the grant, the letters of this legend on the seal are in high relief, and they are in a state of good preservation.

There is some confusion among scholars regarding the identification of the goddess figure on the seal. Rawat Saraswat[5] has identified her as Godhāsanā Pārvatī, but the alligator type of animal does not appear below the feet of the goddess. D.C. Sircar[6] has also erroneously described her as a form of Kālī. The figure of goddess on the seal is four-handed and stands in the *samabhaṅga* pose on a lotus (*mahāmbuja-pīṭha)*. She holds a bell (*ghaṇṭā*) in upper left and a trident (*triśūla)* in upper right hands. A water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu)* is seen in her lower left hand, while the lower right hand carries a rosary (*akṣamālā)* and is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. Her hair have been made in a fine *jaṭā-jūṭa* (matted locks)with ornamental fillets. Her

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5. Rawat Saraswat 1985, "Do Pratīhāra Tāmralekha", *Varadā,* year 28, no. 3, p. 3.
6. D.C. Sircar, 1986, "Kālī Worship in Bengal", in K.K. Gangoli and S. S. Biswas edited *O.C. Gangoli Commemoration Volume,* Calcutta, p. 52.

countenance, though damaged, evinces a placid look. A crouching lion, with his mouth kept open, on either side of her feet is seen flanking the goddess. Because of the presence of two lions and the weapons she carries, R.C. Agrawala[7] has rightly equated her with Kṣemaṅkarī Durgā who combines the attributes of royalty and prosperity. The depiction of *devī* figure, though crude in execution, has an important bearing on the Pratīhāra iconography of Northern India; and from the same image appearing on the seals of the copper-plate grants of Bhoja I[8], Mahendrapāla I[9] and Vināyakapāla[10], Bhagavatī seems to have been the tutelary goddess (*kula-devatā*) of the family. It may be pointed out that Nāgabhaṭa II, Bhoja I and Mahendrapāla I were *paramabhagavatī-bhaktas* (devout worshippers of the goddess Bhagavatī), while Vināyakapāla was a *paramāditya-bhakta* (a devout worshipper of the Sun). The aforesaid form of *devī* is presented on the principal back niche of the tenth century temple of Pippalādamātā at Unawās, near Udaipur, in Rajasthan.[11]

The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit and the whole is in prose. The characters are similar to those of the Sambhal

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7. R.C. Agrawala, 1967, "Bhagavatī on Copper-plate seal of Vikrama year 900". *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. XXIX (1), p. 46.

   .... 1993-94, "Pratīhāra Śāsakon ke Tāmrapatron me Bhagavatī," *Prāgdhārā,* Vol. 4 (4): p. 192.
8. F. Kielhorn, 1898-97, "Daulatapurā Plate of Bhojadeva I, V. S. 900", *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. V, pp. 208-213; Rawat Saraswat 1985, *OP. cit.,* pp. 2-3, 14-15.
9. J.F. Fleet, 1886, "Dighwā-Dubaulī Plate of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla, V.S. 955", *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XV, pp. 105-113.
10. .... 1886, "Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla, V.S. 988" , *India Antiquary,* Vol. XV, pp. 138-141.
11. Agrawala, R.C. 1967, *Op. cit.* , p. 46.

and Surāpura grants. All these inscriptions were written by *Gīyaka, dūtakạ* being the heir-apparent Rāma (-bhadra), and belonged to the same king. As regards orthography, the following three features may be noticed here (i), *b* is invariably denoted by the sign for *v*, (ii) the consonant immediately following *r* is generally doubled and, (iii) the use of *parambhagavatī* for *paramabhagavatī* in lines *g* and 4. The orthography thus shows the usual peculiarities noticed in connection with other Pratīhāra grants.

The date when the grant was issued is given in line 13, where it is expressed by letter numerals and numerical figures. As put down here, it would read *Saṃvat sro hrā vra* 2 *Āśvina vadi* 10 (+) 5. Rawat Saraswat[12], who originally edited the inscription, reads the year as 872. He takes the letter numeral *vra* to be a sign for 70. But it has been found to represent the integer 8 in the Jodhpur inscription[13] of Pratīhāra Bāuka of *Saṃvat* 894. It is also noticed in a copper-plate grant[14] of Nāgabhaṭa II of *Saṃvat* 884, where it also follows the letter *hrā* and represents 8. R. C. Majumdar[15] , in full agreement with D.R. Bhandarkar, has remarked that "there can be no question that *vra* is a sign for some integer and that it may be taken as equivalent to 8". Thus, I think, the year should be read as *Saṃvat sro hrā* (i.e. 800) 82 (i.e. 882). The (Vikrama) *Saṃvat* 882 on the Fifteenth day of the dark half (*amāvāsyā*) of the month of Āśvina , according to the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement, corresponds to Saturday, September 6, CE 825. Line 9 of the inscription reveals that the grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in the zodiac sign of Virgo (*Kanyā-rāśi)*. But there was no solar eclipse in that year.

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12. Rawat Saraswat 1985, *Op. cit.* , pp. 5-6.
13. R.C. Majumdar, 1925-26. "Jodhpur Inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka, V. S. 894", *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XVIII, p. 97, line 21 and plate.
14. D.P. Dubey, 1997-98 , *Op. cit.,* p. 200.
15. R.C. Majumdar, 1925-26, *Op. cit.* , p. 89.

There was only one solar eclipse on the *amāvāsyā* of Āśvina, when the sun was in the *Kanyā-rāśi* , in *Saṃvat* 872 during the period between *Saṃvat* 872 and *Saṃvat* 883. Accordingly, Friday, September 7, CE 815 is clearly the European date specified in the grant. From these calculations, it would appear that the donation was made in *Saṃvat* 872, but the charter was dated on the day on which it was actually handed over to the donee about ten years later. Such a discrepancy is not unknown to the students of Indian epigraphy.

This charter employs the territorial terms *viṣaya, pathaka* and *grāma* , the first and the last being used in the same sense in which they were used in other Pratīhāra records. *Pathaka* was also an administrative unit possibly meaning a 'canton', according to the lexicographers. Historians[16] generally think that a *pathaka* was a smaller territorial division. It was lower than the *viṣaya,* and *viṣaya* being divided into a numbr of *pathakas*. The colophons of some Jain manuscripts reveal that sometimes *pathaka* the sub-division of a *maṇḍala*[17] . Only two *pathakas* find mention in the Pratīhāra records. Kāśipārapathaka, which comprised in Vārāṇasī *viṣaya* , in Pratisthāna *bhukti,* is referred to in the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate[18] of Vināyakapāla, dated *Saṃvat* 988. Paścimapathaka, which included Daśapura (modern Mandasor in the western Malwa region of Madhya Pradesh) is mentioned in the Pratāpgarh inscription [19] of

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16. B.N. Puri, 1957, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras,* Munshiram Menoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1986, second revised edition, f. 162; P. Bhatia, 1967, *The Paramāras,* Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, p. 216; H. V. Trivedi, 1991, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, Vol. VII.(1), p. CXLI.
17. B. N. S. Yadav, 1973, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the twelfth century,* Central Book Depot, Allahabad, p. 163.
18. J.F. Fleet, 1886, *Op. cit., Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XV, p. 141, lines 9-10.
19. G.H. Ojha, 1917-18, "Partābgarh Inscription of the time of the



Seal of the Badhāla Copper Plate Inscription of Nāgabhaṭa.

Photograph of the Badhāla Copper Plate Inscription of Nāgabhaṭa.

the time of Mahendrapāla II, dated *Saṃvat* 1003. Besides the present record, a reference to it is also found in a copper-plate[20] inscription of Bhoja I, dated *Saṃvat* 898, which mentions Jāhumāputtraka village in Gayaṭṭapura *bhoga* attached to Paścimapathaka; Jāhumāputtraka having been identified with the modern village of Jāhotā, 25 km north-west to Jaipur city, on the Jaipur-Caumū road, in Rajasthan. Keeping in mind the distance between Daśapura (in western Malwa) and Gayaṭṭapura (near Jaipur in Rajasthan), Paścimapathaka does not appear a smaller fiscal unit and might have included more than one *viṣaya* in it. Here it possibly stood for a *maṇḍala* or *bhukti*[21].

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Bhadrāsana is no doubt modern Badhāla in the northernmost part of the Phulerā tehsil of Jaipur district. A small river named Mīṭhā , flowing at a distance of about 7 km from Badhāla, may be identified

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Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla II of Mahodaya, Saṃvat 1003." *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, p. 183, line 9.

20. R.C. Agrawala, 1967, Op. cit. , p. 46.

21. H. V. Trivedi (*CII*, Vol. VII (ii), p. 26) has wrongly referred to a mention of Paścimapathaka in the Dharampurī grant (compare the text in the same Volume on pp. 10-14) of the Paramāra king Vākpati, issued in V.S. 1031.

He also says that ' Pūrvvapathaka was situated in the east (to Ujjain), in contrast with the expression Paścimapathaka' (*CII*, Vol. VII (ii), p. 25 and footnote). But Pūrvvapathak (line 9) is spelt as Pūrṇṇapathaka (line 11) in the same inscription (i.e. the Gaonrī copper-plate of Vākpati, V.S. 1043, *ibid.*, pp. 26-27) and has been identified with the modern village of Punāsā, situated about 35 km east of Māndhātā on the Narmadā in M.P. The latter reading is also found in the *Śriṅgāramañjarīkathā* (p. 62) which states that Pūṇṇapathaka-pattana (= Pūrṇṇa-pathaka-pattana) came on the way of a traveller from Vidiśā to Mānyakheṭa.

with the river Ānandikā. Gayaṭṭapura has been identified by Rawat Saraswat[22] with Gaitor which is now a desertd hamlet, behind the Royal Cremation Ground, to the north of Jaipur city. Lambakūpa has been shown to be identical with Lāmbiā[23], a village about 6 km west of Badhāla, on the eastern border of the Dātā Rāmgarh tehsil of Sīkar district.

The object of the inscription is to record that Nāgabhaṭa, in order to increase the religious merit of his parents, granted the village called Lambakūpa, which lay in the Gayaṭṭapura *viṣaya* connected to Paścimapathaka, with all its income barring such as had already been granted to gods and brāhmaṇas, to the *Bhaṭṭa* Durggila who belonged to the Bhārgava *gotra* and was a student of the Kauthumacchandoga *śākhā* (of the Sāmaveda). It was issued from the camp, complete with many carts, elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, situated in the village called Bhadrāsana near the bank of the river Ānandikā. The given parenthetical genealogy, repeated in the same words in the legends on the seal, and precisely similar to that of the Sambhal and Surāpura grants, suggests that the donor was no other person than king Nāgabhaṭa II of the imperial Pratīhāra dynasty. The testimony of the present inscription, coupled with those from Sambhal, Surāpura, Buchkalā[24] and Bārāh[25], shows that king Nāgabhaṭa II wielded sway over large portion of Northern India, extending at least from Jodhpur-Jaipur in Rajasthan in the west to Allahabad-Vārāṇasī in U.P. in the east.

The phraseology of the record is so well-known from other

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22. Rawat Saraswat 1985, *Op. cit.*, p. 9..
23. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
24. D.R. Bhandarkar, 1907-08, 'Buchkalā Inscription of Nāgabhaṭa II, V.S. 872", *Epigraphica Indica,* Vol. IX, pp. 198-200.
25. Hiranand Sastri, 1927-28, "Bārāh Copper-plate of Bhojadeva, V.S. 893", *Epigraphica Indica,* Vol. XIX, pp. 15-18.

inscriptions as to render its full translation superfluous. Hence, I am not attempting it.

TEXT[26]

The seal

a. परमवैष्णवो महाराजश्रीदेव

b. राजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु

c. ध्यातः श्रीभूयिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः

d. परममाहेश्वरौ (रो) महाराजश्री

e. वत्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पा

f. दानुध्यातः श्रीसुन्दरीदेव्यामुत्प

g. न्नः परं भगवतीभक्तो महाराज

h. श्रीनागभटदेवः ॥

The Plate

1. ओम् स्वस्ति। आनन्दिका[27] सरित्व(त्त)टनिकटभद्रासनग्रामावासितानेक (का) नौ[28] (नो) हस्त्यश्वरथ
2. पत्तिसम्पन्नस्कन्धावारात्परमवैष्णवो महाराजश्रीदेवराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा
3. नुध्यातः श्रीभूयिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरो महाराज श्रीवत्सराजदेव
4. स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीसुन्दरीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परं भगवतीभक्तो महाराज
5. श्रीनागभटदेवः ॥ गयद्दपुरविषयान्तःपातिपश्चिमपथकसम्व(म्ब) द्ध

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26. From the photographs of seal and inscription.
27. Rawat Saraswat reads (Ā) nandikā.
28. Hiranand Sastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 17, line 1 of the plate) reads it as *'nau'* , translated as 'ships'. J.F. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* XV, pp. 112, 140, line 1 of the plate) reads it as *'gau'* meaning 'cows'. Its correct form is noticed in the Sambhal plate (D.P. Dubey, 1993-94, p. 108, line 1 of the facsimile); it is the word *anas* written, for the observance of *sandhi*, as *'no'* in the inscription. It denotes (bullock) carts for transporting military articles, food stuffs, etc.

6. लम्व (म्ब) कूपग्रामे समुप (पा) गतान्सर्व्वानेव यथास्थाननियुक्तान्प्रतिवासिनश्च स
7. माज्ञापयति। उपरिलिखितग्रामः सर्व्वायसमेत आचन्द्रार्क्कक्षितिकालं
8. पूर्व्वदत्तदेवब्र (ब्र) ह्मदेयवर्जितो मया पित्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये भार्ग्गवसगोत्र
9. कौथुमच्छन्दोगसब्र (ब्र) ह्मचारिभट्टदुर्ग्गिलाय[29] कन्यागते सव्वितरि सूर्यग्रहोपरा
10. ग (गे) प्रतिग्रहेण प्रतिपादित इति विदित्वा भवद्भिरनुमन्तव्यः प्रतिवासिभि
11. रप्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्व्वाया अस्मै समुपनेया इति॥ गीयकेन[30] प्रयु
12. क्तस्य शासनस्य स्थिरायतेः। दूतको युवराजो (ऽ) त्र रामाख्यो[31] जनवल्लभः॥ सम्वत्
13. स्रो (100) ह्रा (8) 8[32] 2 आश्विन वदि 10 (+) 5 निव(ब)द्ध (म्)॥

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29. Rawat Saraswat reads *Dūrggilāya.*
30. Rawat reads *Gothakena.*
31. Rawat's reading is *Yavarājātra Rāmākhya.*
32. What Rawat reads seventy is, in fact, 8.

THE HISTORICAL DATA IN THE YUGAPURĀṆA

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The *Yugapurāṇa* is believed to have been composed shortly after the Greek and Śaka invasion to India during the reign of the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas between 2nd c.B.C. to the end of the 1st c.B.C. The author in this paper has examined critically the *Yugapurāṇa* and holds that the events mentioned in the said *purāṇa* may be accepted as true only within the chronological limits of the purāṇas. It needs careful analysis to come to the correct conclusion.

It has been held for long by historians that the Greeks invaded India during the rule of the Śuṅgas, and the Śakas during the reign of the Kāṇvas. The reign of the Śuṅga and Kāṇva rulers is placed on that assumption between the second century B.C. and the end of the first century B.C. The evidence of the *Yugapurāṇa* is cited in this connection with the claim that the *Yugapurāṇa* was composed shortly after the events mentioned in it and its testimony is, therefore, unassailable. Attempts are made to confirm the widely held view with a reference to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and the *Hathigumpha inscription of Kharvela.* That fits in well with the assumption of Chandragupta Maurya's synchronism with Seleucus. So no attempts have been made to re-examine the contention during the last six decades and a half.

That Chandragupta Maurya and Seleucus were not

contemporaries is, however, well-established now.[1] Chandragupta Maurya was coronated in 1501 B.C. The Mauryas reigned for 137 years. So Puṣyamitra Śuṅga began his rule from 1364 B.C. As the Śuṅgas ruled for 112 years, their reign must have come to an end about 1252 B.C. Then came the rule of the Kāṇva dynasty which lasted for 45 years ending 1207 B.C. The rule of the Andhra dynasty came to an end 836 years after the coronation of Mahāpadma, 801 B.C.[2] So the events mentioned in the *Yugapurāṇa* can be accepted as true only within the chronological limits of the Purāṇas. Let us now see what the *Yugapurāṇa* really is and what it says in fact.

The Yugapurāṇa

The authors who discussed the *Yugapurāṇa,* called it a section of the *Gargasaṃhitā.* Dr. Kern was the first to draw the attention of the scholars to it in the introduction to the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* published in the *Bibliothica Indica* series. Then Dr. K. P. Jayaswal published the important portion of the *Yugapurāṇa* in the *JBORS* in September 1928 with translation and comments.[3] Diwan Bahadur Prof. K. H. Dhruva re-edited the text and published it in the same journal in 1930 with a new translation, comments and several appendices.[4] Ever since then, the views of Dhruva have prevailed and nobody has cared to examine them. Mankad and R.M. Smith

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1. Upendra Nath Roy, Xandrames and Sandrocottus, *Tulasī-Prajñā,* Vol. XVIII, No. 1 & 3.
2. *do,* Saptarṣichakra aur Itihāsa, *Samāja dharma Evaṃ Darshan,* Vol. VIII, No. 3-4.
3. K. P. Jayaswal, Historical Data in the Yugapurāṇa, *JBORS,* Vol. XIV, Pt. III, PP. 400-408.
4. K. H. Dhruva, Historical contents of the Yugapurāṇa *JBORS* Vol. XVI, Pt. I, PP. 18-66.

have quoted and discussed a few verses of the *Yugapurāṇa* in passing, but they add nothing to our knowledge.

Jayaswal had edited the text with the help of two manuscripts. One of them was in the collection of the Asiatic society of Bengal and the other at the Government Sanskrit College of Benaras. Dhurva based his editing on logic, not on manuscripts. Later two more manuscripts of the *Yugapurāṇa* were traced, one at Paris and the other at Saurastra. It is sad, however, that the complete text has not been edited with various readings by collating all the available manuscripts so far.

In absence of proper editing, the text has come to us in a highly corrupt form. That raises doubts even about its language which is supposed to be Prakrit or hybrid. Dhruva has dispelled such doubts ably, but that does not remove the necessity of a well edited version of the entire text of the *Yugapurāṇa*.

Author and age

Nobody disputes the fact that the *Yugapurāṇa* was authored by Garga. But what is the date of Garga? When was the *Yugapurāṇa* composed? We come across several opinions in this respect, some of which are given below :

1. 153 B.C. is the date of Garga according to Frazer.[5]
2. As the *Yugapurāṇa* carries its narration to the end of the Kāṇva rule, it could not have been composed much later than the times of the last ruler of the Kāṇva dynasty. So the date of Garga is later than 21 B.C. according to Dhruva.[6]
3. The *Garga saṃhitā* is a work of first century B.C. and the

5. Frazer, *British India,* London, 1908, P. 7.
6. K. H. Dhruva, Historical Contents, *JBORS,* Vol. XVI, Pt. I.

Yugapurāṇa was composed "within fifty years of the reign of Puṣyamitra" according to Dr. Bhagavata Sharan Upadhyaya.[7]

4. The *Yugapurāṇa* belongs to the second or third century of Christ according to Max Müller and V.A. Smith.[8]

Such conflicting views of the believers in Chandragupta Maurya-Seleucus synchronism are enough to refute one another.

Indian tradition admits of more than one person called Garga. One of them belongs to the beginning of the Kali age :

कल्यादौ भगवान् गर्गः प्रादुर्भूय महामुनिः।
ऋषिभ्यो जातकं कृत्स्नं वक्ष्यत्येव कलिं श्रितः॥[9]

The opinions of the other Garga are quoted by Varāhamihira and his commentator Utpala. The latter indicates his date in the following verse :

आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथिवीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ।
षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च॥

The real meaning of the verse is that Garga composed his *Saṃhitā* in the 2526 the year of the Yudhiṣṭhira era, i.e., 611 B.C.[10] As the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas belonged to a period much earlier than 611 B.C., the *Yugapurāṇa*, a section of that *Saṃhitā* is not evidently a contemporary work. It does not follow necessarily

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7. Bhagavata Saran Upadhyaya, *Kālidāsa Kā Bhārāta,* Part II, Varanasi, 1964, P. 237.

8. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India.*

9. Quoted in the commentary of Kālakriyāpāda by Gārgya Kerala Nilakantha, *the commentator of Āryabhaṭīyam,* Trivandrum, P. 18.

10. Upendranath Roy, Vṛddhagarga Kā Śakakāla, *Samāj Dharma Evam Darshan,* Vol. IX, No. 1.

that its testimony is false and unreliable. Only a patient and careful analysis can lead to correct conclusions.

Contents According to Dhruva

There were 115 lines in the edited version of the *Yugapurāṇa* presented by Jayaswal. As Dhruva removed one of them on the ground of repetition, it was reduced to 114 lines. Dhruva has altered the order of these lines and rearranged them placing the political material first and the social material after that. He has done a lot to remove the grammatical errors, defects in metre and vagueness in the text. He has taken a lot of liberty in altering the readings of the manuscripts. Change in order and reading has led to vital changes in the meaning and implication of the text as we will observe later.

Dhruva divides the political contents of the *Yugapurāṇa* in five sections. The first of these foretells the feud between Janamejaya and his sacrificial priests. The second section deals with the foundation of the city of Pāṭaliputra. The third section, narrates the misdeeds of the Maurya king Śāliśūka. The fourth section gives an account of the diverse wars of the Magadha State with the Yavanas. The fifth section refers to the inroads of the Śakas and their rule in Magadha. Only the last three of the five sections deserve our special attention.

Śāliśūka was a son of Kuṇāla and a younger brother of both Daśaratha and Samprati according to Dhruva. The kingdom of the Mauryas split into two according to him. Daśaratha as a ruler of the eastern part in Pāṭaliputra and Samprati as a ruler of the western part in Ujjayinī were coronated in the same year. But Daśarath died one year earlier than Samprati and Śāliśūka became the king of Magadha. Earlier he had governed the province of Saurāṣṭra under Samprati and employed coercion to propagate jainism there. That is why Jaina works praise Samprati while the *Yugapurāṇa* denounces him, says Dhruva. Basing himself on the testimony of the

Aśokāvadāna, a section of the *Divyāvadāna,* Dhruva opines that the successive rulers after Daśaratha in the eastern part of the kingdom were Śāliśūka, Devadharmā, Śatadhanvā and Bṛhadratha while Bṛhaspati, Vṛṣasena, Puṣyadharmā and Puṣyamitra succeeded Samprati in the western part one after another.

The fourth section according to Dhruva refers to the invasions of the Greeks who had settled in Bactria, Kābul and Panjab. The first of these was led by Demetrius during the reign of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga 175 B.C. His kith and kin who ruled in the valley of Kabul might have joined the invasion under his command but civil war destroyed the invaders shortly after the invasion. The second invasion according to Dhruva was led by Menander as the invaders are referred to be in power in Punjab. The siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā referred to by Pantañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* took place during that very invasion. The second invasion ended in the total destruction of the Greek army and its commanders. It happened 157 B.C. according to Dhruva. He thinks that the *Yugapurāṇa* refers to Menander and six of his companions, two of them being Demetrius II and Antiochus. The second horse sacrifice of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga began 156 B.C. and its horse was detained by some success or of Eukretides. Vasumitra, the grandson of Puṣyamitra, defeated him and the second hours sacrifice was completed 155 B.C. The last war with the Greeks took place when Puṣyamitra demanded the hand of a Greek princess of Madra for his grandson. Puṣyamitra died fighting for the demand. His successors Agnimitra and Odraka are mentioned in the *Yugapurāṇa* according to Dhruva, though the figures assigned for their reign do not agree with the Purāṇas. Dhruva tries his utmost to remove the difficulty.

The fifth section deals with the invasion of the Śakas and Śaka rule. According to the Greek historians, the Śakas defeated by the Parthian king Mithradates II left the west direction and turned to the south and settled in Siestan 120 B.C. by deposing Heliocles, the

descendant of Eukredites. Then they invaded Magadha 119 B.C. and killed the Śuṅga ruler Odraka. They looted the city of Pāṭaliputra and went back to their place taking the inhabitants of the city as captives. Dhruva rejects Jayaswal's contention that Odraka was killed while fighting the Śabaras.

The second part of this section describes the Śaka rule in Pāṭaliputra. According to the interpretation of Dhruva, the Śaka chief Amlāta attacked and destroyed Pāṭaliputra, killed its inhabitants, abolished the system of four varṇas and repopulated Pāṭaliputra with the Śakas. He and his kith and kin were killed by Gopāla, who became the king then. Gopāla was killed by Puṣpaka and the latter in turn by Śarvila. Gopāla reigned for a year, Puṣpaka too for a year and Śarvila for three years. The last Śaka ruler invaded Kalinga and as destroyed totally along with his forces by the Śāta king of Kalinga. All the five Śaka rulers were greedy and Pāṭaliputra was reduced to a miserable condition under their rule.

The Śaka rule in Magadha lasted a decade. The reign of the four Kāṇva rulers totals 45 according to the Purāṇas but Dhruva thinks the total of individual regions is 55 years. That testifies a decade -long rule of the Śakas in Magadha. The Śaka inroad occured 35 B.C. in the closing year of Nārāyaṇa Kāṇva's reign and the last Śaka ruler was killed by the Sātavāhana king as he attempted to conquer Kalinga. That gave an opportunity to the Kāṇva king Suśaramā to return to Pāṭaliputra and occupy it. A Sātavāhana king killed Suśaramā and captured Magadha 21 B.C. He was the 15th ruler of the Andhra dynasty called Pulumāyi I according to Dhruva. As for Amlāṭa, he was the governor of the eastern territories under Azes according to Amlāṭa.

The section about the social condition in the *Yugapurāṇa* refers to the destruction of population, ravages of famine and the baneful consequences of the same. A big part of Indian literature was lost for ever as a result of the turmoil that prevailed according to Dhruva.

The *Yugapurāṇa* refers not only to the disturbance caused to the system of four varṇas, but also hints at the admission of aliens to Indian faith. Dhruva refers to the Basenagar Pillar inscription in this connection which shows adoption of the Vaiṣṇava faith by the Greeks. Indian kings began marrying Greek princesses in this age. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga demanded a Greek princess for his grandson, and died fighting for it. The manuscripts of the *Yugapurāṇa* contain the prophesy that people will befriend others for the sake of woman. Dhruva changes the reading to mean that the hostilities will occur for the sake of woman.

Problems and Solutions

The interpretation put forth by Dhruva raises a number of problems the very existence of which remains to be admitted to date. Naturally, nobody has bothered to find a solution.

(a) *Śāliśūka*-The division of the Mauryan empire, Śāliśūka's relationship with Daśaratha and Samprati and his activity in Saurāṣṭra as well as his place in the Purāṇas are the factors demanding scrutiny. None of the Purāṇas supports the theory about the division of the impire after the death of Kuṇāla. Both Daśaratha and Samprati were rulers of Magadha and they were not brothers, but father and son. The *Matsyapurāṇa says :*

राजा दशरथोष्टौ तु तस्य पुत्रः भविष्यति।
भविता नव वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रस्तु सम्प्रतिः ॥[११]

And the *Yugapurāṇa* (e) says :

राजा दशरथस्त्वष्टौ तस्य पुत्रो भविष्यति।
भविता नव वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रस्तु सम्प्रतिः ॥[१२]

That does not clarify Śāliśūka's relationship with Daśaratha and

11. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age* (DKA), London, 1913, P. 28.
12. Do, P. 29.

Samprati. Had Śāliśūka been really very zealous to convert people of Saurāṣṭra to Jainism, the Jaina authors would not have given the entire credit to Samprati. Circumstances are so vague that some historians go to the extent of calling him a zealous propagator for Budhism[13] *Yāyupurāṇa* (e) names Śāliśūka and assigns thirteen years to his reign शालिशूकः समा राजा त्रयोदश भविष्यति.[१४] Most of the Purāṇas tend to recognise nine kings in the Maurya dynasty by dropping his name. One *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* recognise ten of them. But had Śāliśūka really reigned for 13 years, the Purāṇas could not ignore him. As the dynastry was well-known for its support to Jainas and Buddhists, that could not be an excuse for ignoring Śāliśūka.

The Purāṇas are unanimous in assigning 137 years to the Maurya dynasty. Individually, the kings of the dynasty are said to have reigned as follows :

1.	Chandragupta	24 years
2.	Bindusāra	25 years
3.	Aśoka	36 years
4.	Kuṇāla	8 years
5.	Daśaratha	8 years
6.	Samprati	9 years
7.	Śāliśūka	13 years
8.	Devadharmā	7 years
9.	Śatadhanu	8 years
10.	Bṛhadratha	7 years

If we put aside the 13 years assigned to Śāliśūka, the total reaches 132 years. But we know there was an interval of four years

13. R.M. Smith, *Dates and Dynasties in Earliest India*, Delhi, 1973, P. 365 (DDEI)

14. Parigiter, *DKA*, p. 29.

between the death of Bindusāra and coronation of Aśoka. Adding them to 132 years, we get 136 years. That leaves one year only which is the reign of Śāliśūka in fact. His reign included a malamāsa and therefore consisted of 13 months in fact. The original text in the Purāṇas must have been something like शालिशूकः स मासान् वै त्रयोदश भविष्यति, which has been turned into 13 years by the commutation of the text. It is remarkable that only one of the copies of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, namely *Vāyu* (e), contains the figure of 13 years. That his reign was very short may explain the fact that the Purāṇas ignore him.

The other reason-lies in the fact that Śāliśūka misbehaved with his subjects and near ones. Thus we find the following in the *Yugapuraṇa* :

तस्मिन् पुष्पपुरे रम्ये जनारामशताकुले।
स राजाकर्मसु रतो दुष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः।।
स्वराष्ट्रमर्दयन् घोरं धर्मवादी ह्यधार्मिकः।
स्थापयिष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम्।।
स ज्येष्ठं भ्रातरं साधुं साकेते प्रथितं गुणैः।।

Śāliśūka was attached to misdeads, wicked by nature and quarrelsome. He was irreligious but talked about religion. His elder brother Vijaya was pious and virtuous but Śāliśūka deprived him of the throne and appointed him the governor of the province of Śāliśūka. The Purāṇa denounces him not for his devotion to Jainism or Buddhism, but for his misbehaviour like that. Similarly it is his oppression against his subject that is condemned, not forcible conversion to Jainsim of the people of Saurāṣṭra as alleged by Dhruva.

The Purāṇas dislike Śāliśūka also for the fact that he became a king illegitimately by deposing his father. Dhruva opines that

Śāliśūka succeeded to the throne of Pāṭaliputra after the death of Daśaratha. That seems to be based on the dubious authority of *Divyāvadāna*-a later and less reliable work. The Purāṇas are unanimous in holding that Daśaratha was succeeded by Samprati (or Saṃyuta) and the later by Śāliśūka. It ought to be noted in this connection that while the *Matsya* and *Vāyu* (e) assign eight and nine years respectively to Daśaratha and Samprati, the general text of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* replace them with Bandhupālita and Indrapālita assigning eight and ten years to them respectively :

कुणालसूनुरष्टौ च भोक्ता वै बन्धुपालितः।
बन्धुपालितदायादो दश भावीन्द्रपालितः ॥[१५]

As all the Maurya rulers mentioned in the Purāṇas were kings of Magadha and as Bandhupālita was the son and succession of Kuṇāla and he too reigned for eight years like Daśaratha, we can identify him with Daśaratha. Then, his son and successor Indrapālita must be identified with Samprati. Now while the *Vāyu* (e) assigns nine years to Samprati, *Vāyu (*general) and *Brahmāṇḍa* assign ten years to him. It is remarkable that they omit Śāliśūka and reduce the number of the Maurya rulers to nine. So Śāliśūka was not a legitimate ruler in their opinion and they added one year of his reign to the period of his father. Obviously Śāliśūka had deposed his father to become a king.

(g) *The Yavanas* : Dhruva identifies the Yavanas of the *Yugapurāṇa* with the Greeks of Bactria and leaves his imagination unrestrained. He surpasses the Greek authors in glorifying the Bactrians. Though the Greeks were found of eulogising their heroes, all they have to report about demetrius is that he occupied Panjab and made Śākala his capital renaming it after his farther as Euthedemia. That he had won Panchāla and Śūrasena and waged a

15. Do, p. 29.

war against Magadha is not mentioned by them. What they could not imagine is taken for granted by our esteemed scholars like Dhruva. Menander was killed fighting in the valley of the Gangā according to Plutarch. Dhruva deems that enough to place Menander in the Śuṅga age. Some scholars move farther and announce that Khāravela was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra and his *Hathigumpha Inscription* mentions Demetrius. The problem is : how could Demetrius and Menander wage war against people who belonged to a period more than a millenium ago?

Words are used in different senses in different ages and the historians have to select the appropriate according to the age while interpreting a text. The word Yavana in the context of the Maurya, Śuṅga and Kāṇva age cannot mean the Muslim for obvious reasons. For the same reason, the meaning "Bactrian Greek" too ought to be rejected in that context. What did then the word mean in those times? The Yavana means a mixed caste, the progeny of a Kṣatriya male and Śūdra female according to the *Gautam Dharmasūtra.*[16]That undoubtedly is the name of an ethnic group. Manu includes the Yavanas among the Kṣatriyas who gave up their Vedic culture and became Vṛṣalas :

वृषलत्वं गताः लोके इमाः क्षत्रियजातयः।
पौण्ड्रकाश्चोड्रद्राविडाः काम्बोजाः यवनाः शकाः ।।[१७]

Viṣṇpurāṇa lists them with the Kṣatriya tribes which were ostracized by Sagar and degraded by the Brāhmaṇas and became mlechchas (free-booters) as a result.[18] There is nothing in our tradition to say that those degraded people left India and emigrated to some other country as a whole. Quite naturally most of them

16. *Gautama Dharmasūtra,* IV. 21.

17. *Manusmṛti,* X. 43-44.

18. *Viṣṇupurāṇa,* 4/3/21.

might have stayed and sought to gain power.

It was not necessary for the Yavanas of the *Yugapurāṇa* to move from Bactria to Panjab. The reading supported by the manuscripts is :

ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पञ्चालाः माथुरास्तथा।
यवनाः दुष्टविक्रान्ता प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजम्॥

Dhruva's reading कुसुमाह्वयम् for कुसुमध्वजम् is better here but reading शाकलम् for साकेतम् and the use of objective case instead of पाञ्चालाः and माथुराः changes the sense drastically. Such license cannot be allowed to any translator or editor if we do not want to tamper with the text. The Yavanas of the *Yugapurāṇa* were the inhabitants of Panchāla and Mathurā and they attempted to move toward Pāṭaliputra from the same points. The reign of both Vijaya and Śāliśūka came to an end during the campaign, though the Yavanas had to retreat from Magadha at last.

The Yavanas are mentioned next during the age of the Śuṅgas. We find in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa that the Yavanas were defeated at the bank of the Sindhu in an encounter with Puṣyamitra's grandson Vasumitra. There is nothing there to connect it with Demetrius or Menander. The *Mahābhāṣya* contains two sentences about the yavanas-namely, अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् and अरुणद् यवनः मध्यमिकाम् but the conclusions drawn from them are generally unwarranted. Even if we admit that Patañjali was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and the *Mahābhāṣya* belongs to that age, it does not necessarily follow that Sāketa and Madhyamikā were besieged during the same time.

According to Pāṇini (III./2/111), the Imperfect (laṅ) is used to denote what is not of today. Kātyāyana observes that the same tense may be used about what is beyond the range of sight, but universally known and capable of being witnessed by the narrator.

The above-mentioned sentences in the *Mahābhāṣya* are used to illustrate the point. So what we can assert emphatically about it is that the Siege of the two places occurred during the life by Patañjali and it was capable to being witnessed by him. Now there were three kings namely Devadharmā, Śatadhanu and Bṛhadratha between Śāliśūka and Puṣyamitra. They reigned for 7, 8 and 7 years respectively. Now Patañjali could have known or witnessed what happened twenty-two years or so earlier. So the seige mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* may well refer to what happened during the reign of Śāliśūka.

Quite senseless is the attempt to make Khārvela a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and to seek support for the theory of Demetrius' invasion during the Śuṅga age in the Hathigumpha Inscription. The contemporary ruler of Magadha mentioned in the inscription was Bahasatimitra, not Puṣyamitra. His name occurs in the Pabhosa cave inscription too and his coins have been discovered at Kauśāmbi. Though he was originally a ruler of Kauśāmbi, he might have subjugated Magadha and ruled it for some time during the days of Khāravela. So we cannot equate Bahasatimitra with Puṣyamitra.[19] That is the truth about the twelfth line of the Hatigumpha Inscription. As for the eighth line, neither Cunningham nor Bhagawanlal Indraji could find a Yavanarāja mentioned in it. Only Jayaswal and Sten Konow discovered that. But Sten Konow admitted that only the middle letter of the name of that king -'ma' -is clear.[20] How can we conclude from that the correct reading is 'Ḍimata' which stands for Demetrus?

Even where the Yavanas are not mentioned in the

19. Suresh Chandra Roy, Pabhosā Guhā ke Abhilekha, *Samāj-Dharma Evaṃ Darshan,* Vol. VIII, No. 3-4, P. 58.

20. Sten Konow, Some Problems Raised by Kharavela's Hathigumpha Inscription, *Acta Orientalia,* Vol. I, 1923, PP. 26-27.

Yugapurāṇa, Dhruva brings them in and links them with the Śuṅgas arbitrarily. The manuscripts of the *Yugapurāṇa* declare that there will be seven mighty kings in Sāketa after the destruction of the Yavanas. Dhruva replaces Sāketa with Sākala, makes them Greeks and co-rulers. There is a hill called Lohita Giri in South India.[21] There may be some other in Magadha too. But that does not deter Dhruva from replacing लोहिताद्रे: with लोहिताद्रैं: and where the manuscripts have

आग्निवेश्यास्तु ते सर्वे राजानो कृतविग्रहा: ।

क्षयं यास्यन्ति युद्धेन तथैषामाश्रितो जन: ॥

Dhruva replaces आग्निवेश्यास्तु with पुष्यमित्रेण-unique phenomena not found in the writings of other scholars. Nobody else is haunted by the phantom of the Śuṅga rulers there. Dhruva is mistaken in holding that reading Sākala for Sāketa is an easy solution of all problems. The natural meaning of a statement like 'there will be seven kings in such and such a place' never makes them simaltaneous rulers or co-rulers. Nor does the replacement with Sākala suffice to make the seven identical with Menander and his companions. In fact, the seven were the rulers of Sāketa who ruled after one another and not simultaneously. They wasted their energy and resources in fighting against various kings, including those of Magadha. Thus they destroyed others and were destroyed themselves. The seven mighty kings were Āgniveśyas, that is, they belonged to the Agniveśa gotra. Probably they were the forefathers of the Baisa Kṣatriyas whose name is inseparably linked with a part of Awadh known as Baisawara.

Dhruva has invented a story about the death of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. He is said to have demanded a Greek princess for his grandson and died fighting for the same. The princess belonged to

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21. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, P. 372 .

the Madra country to him. If we stick to the original, the truth is revealed differently :

तदा भद्राख्यको देशो ह्यग्निमित्रस्य कीलितः।
तस्मिन्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या सुमहारूपशालिनी॥
तदर्थं स नृपो घोरे विग्रहे ब्राह्मणैः सह।
तदा विधिवशाद्देहं विमोक्ष्यति न संशयः॥
तस्मिन् युद्धे महाघोरे व्यतिक्रान्ते सुदारुणे।
आग्निवेश्यस्तदा राजा भविष्यति महाप्रभुः॥
आग्निवेश्यस्त्वसौ राजा प्राप्य राज्यं महेन्द्रवत्।
भीमैः स शकसंघातैर्विग्रहं समुपैष्यति॥

Replacing भद्राख्यको with मद्राख्यको, अग्निमित्र with पुष्यमित्र, ''ब्राह्मणैः'' with अब्रह्मण्यैः and inserting the names of Agnimitra, Vasumitra and Odraka in the following lines are drastic changes amounting to tampering with the text.

Replacing Bhadra with Madra is justified by Dhruva on the plea that there is no country called Bhadra any where. But the fortyfifth chapter of the *Vāyupurāṇa* lists Bhadraka with the countries of the north. The *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins places Bhadrankara on Jīvaka's way to Mathurā from Takṣaśilā.[22] So there was undoubtedly a place called Bhadra in northern India. For the corrupt reading ''अग्निमित्रस्य कीलके'' in the mss., it is not just to read पुष्यमित्रे प्रशासति as done by Dhruva. अग्निमित्रस्य कीलितः is preferable and the root कील् may mean 'to stick to', 'to grip firmly' etc. So it means the country of Bhadra was subject to Agnimitra. A beautiful girl was born there and when the king wanted to marry her, he clashed with the Brāhmaṇas. Agnimitra was killed in a battle and

22. Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, *Buddhakālīna Bhāratīya Bhūgola,* Prayag, Saṃvat 2018, P. 466.

some king of the Agniveśa gotra became the emperor. Obviously, the girl was not a Greek princess but a Brāhmaṇa girl. When Agnimitra attempted to take her to his haram by force, the Kṣatriyas of Agniveśa gotra came to the rescue of the Brāhmaṇas and the battle resulted in the defeat and death of Agnimitra. Thus, the Kṣatriyas of Sāketa belonging to the gotra of Agniveśa gained supremacy in the northern India again.

The context has nothing to do with the Śuṅgas. It is absurd to think that the name of Agnimitra is exclusive to the Śuṅga dynasty. There was a ruler called Agnimitra at Ahichhatrā.[23] The Agnimitra of the *Yugapurāṇa* may or may not be the same, but he is surely not of the Śuṅga dynasty. The *Yugapurāṇa* gives the figure of 20 years for the king that followed Agnimitra. Dhruva disregards the manuscripts and assigns 30 years to Agnimitra instead and defends it with the plea that it includes Agnimitra's rule as a provincial governor at Vidiśā. That shows simply his ignorance with the style of the Purāṇas. The *Yugapurāṇa* cannot say otherwise when every Purāṇa assigns eight years only to the Śuṅga ruler Agnimitra. His second plea is that the Purāṇas assign two or seven years only to the Śuṅga ruler Odraka, but the Pabhosa Cave Inscription refers to the tenth year of his reign. The argument is untenable for two reasons. First, the Purāṇas do not deviate from their style in such matters. Second, Odraka of the Pabhosa did not belong to the Śuṅga dynasty. He was a ruler of Kauśāmbī.[24] Moreover, had Puṣyamitra of some other Indian ruler demanded a Greek princess and died fighting for the purpose of getting her, the Greeks could not have failed to mention it. On the other hand, had Agnimitra succeeded in getting that princess, the event must have

23. Radhakumud Mukherjee, *Prāchīna Bhārata*, Delhi, 1980, p. 109.

24. Suresh Chandra Roy, Pabhosā Guhā ke Abhilekh *Samāj Dharma Evaṃ Darshan*, Vol. 8, No. 3-4, P. 58.

got noticed by Indian authors. The Śuṅga rulers were surely not too insignificant to be noticed by Bāṇa, Daṇḍin etc.

(c) *The Śakas :* The questions that arise about the Śakas mentioned in the *Yugapurāṇa* are : who were they? Could they attack Odraka 119 B.C.? Could they win Magadha during the age of the Kāṇvas? When did the Sātavāhana kings capture Magadha and how? In reply we have to mention that Odraka was the fifth ruler of the Śuṅga dynasty. The dynasty began 1364 B.C. and the first four kings reigned for 36, 8, 7 and 10 years respectively. Then came the two year long reign of Odraka (1313-1311 B.C.). The Kāṇvas ruled 1252 to 1207 B.C. So the interpretation of the Śaka inroads given by Dhruva is simply impossible.

The Śaka inroads are deemed impossible before 120 B.C. as they are supposed to be foreigners. Still, scholars like Dr. Buddhaprakash and Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agrawal permit a Śaka invasion in the nineth century B.C. But according to Indian tradition, the Śakas were originally Indian Kṣatriyas. Like the Yavanas, they too are listed with the degraded Kṣatriyas in *Yugapurāṇa* and *Manusmṛti*. From their original abode in the basin of the Rāvī and Chenab, they moved toward the highlands of Gazani and Gandhar via the rivers Tochi and Gomal. That is why Pāṇini found the names ending in 'kantha' in the regions called Uśīnara and Barṇu. Prejudices cause Dr. Agrawal to state the fact in reverse order. Quite contrary to his contention, Pāṇiṇi did not belong to the nineth century B.C., he lived around 1637 B.C.[25] So, even after their emigration, some of them might have remained in India and attempted to gain political power. These precisely and not the immigrants from central Asia are the Śakas mentioned in the *Yugapurāṇa* .

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25. Pāṇini was a contemporary of Mahā Padmananda. The latter was coronated 1637 B.C. Vide, 'Saptarṣi Chakra Aur Itihāsa.

The king who confronted the Śakas first is called Āgniveśa. As mentioned above, he was a king of Sāketa and reigned for 20 years. He had to fight the Śakas during the last days of his reign and died the death of a warrior. The Śakas killed a lot and took many people captive. They took a fourth of the population to their city, the location of which is not clear. Then, the *Yugapurāṇa* mentions Gopāla, Puṣpaka, Śarvila and Viṣvakyaśā, a Brāhmaṇa-all rulers of Pāṭaliputra. Dhruva has made all of them the Śakas. Then comes the invasion and occupation of Magadha by the Śaka king Amlāṭa. When he invaded Kalinga, he had to face the Sātavāhana king and died in the battle. Thus the Śaka rule ended soon and the Sātavāhana king became the master of Magadha. Then that Sātavāhana ruler reigned ten years more and died.

All we can say about these events is that they took place before the end of the Andhra age 801 B.C. Were Dhruva right in holding that Sātavāhana king became the master of Magadha by deposing and killing Suśarmā, that king must be identified with Śimuka and the operations of Amlāṭa must be dated before 1207 B.C. A decade-long Śaka rule during the Kāṇva period assumed by Dhruva seems untenable. Dhruva argues that the Purāṇas assign 45 years to the Kāṇva dynasty but the total of individual reigns given comes to 55. The total of first three Śaka kings--four years has got added to the reign of the first Kāṇva ruler and the six years of the last two Śaka rulers to the reign of the last Kāṇva ruler according to him. That is untenable. The first objection against the assumption is that even according to Dhruva, there is an interval of 36 years between the first and the last Kāṇva ruler because Bhumimitra ruled for 24 years and Nārāyaṇa for 12 years.[26] Now how is it possible that the Śakas ruled for ten years at a stretch but the Purāṇas divided

26. Dhruva, *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, Part I, P. 63.

it into two parts of 4 and 6 years respectively and erected a wall of 36 years between the two? Secondly, whenever some mishap disrupts the continuity of the rule of the total reign of the dynasty exceeds the total reign of the individual kings. For example, the total reign of the Śiśunāga dynasty is stated to be 362 years in the Purāṇas but the total of the individual reigns is 346 years only. That is explained by the fact that 16 years before Nandivardhana passed in anarchy and subjugation of Magadha to Aṅga. Similarly, the Purāṇas assign 137 years to the Maurya dynasty but the total of individual reigns is 132 years only. The explanation lies in the fact that Aśoka's coronation was delayed by civil war for four years and Śāliśukaś unlawful rule lasted for a year. So, were the Kāṇva rulers assigned 55 years but the total of the individual reigns 45 years only, we could agree with Dhruva. The reverse of that cannot convey the meaning desired. Moreover, scholars are unanimously of the view that the Purāṇas assign 45 years to the dynasty and the total of individual reigns is also the same. Thus the four kings of the Kāṇva dynasty reigned as follows :[27]

1. Vasudeva	9 years
2. Bhumimitra	14 years
3. Nārāyaṇa	12 years
4. Suśarmā	10 years
	45 years

only *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* assigns 5 instead of 9 to Vasudeva. Only *Vāyu* and *Bramāṇḍa* assign 14 years to Bhumimitra. Suśarmā is assigned 4 years only in *Brahmāṇḍa*. These figures not supported by the majority of the Purāṇas are rejected by scholars quite justly. So the Śaka occupation of Magadha is possible after the Kāṇva

27. Pargiter, *DKA*, PP. 34-35; R.M. Smith *DDEI*, p. 374-375.

period only. It is still unclear who fought the Śakas for the kingdom of Kaliṅga and mastered magadha-Simuka or some other ruler of the Andhra dynasty. The researches in future will clarify the point.

(d) *Social conditions*-The section about the social conditions in the *Yugapurāṇa* is not intended to describe the tyranny of the Śakas and consequences of their rule. It aims mainly at describing conditions of the Kali age from beginning to end. The Śaka rule is only a part of if. Dhruva fails to realise it and the result is, twelve-year long draught at the end of the Kali is reduced to two years in the line 113. But it is usual for the Purāṇas to refer to such a draught at the end of the Kali.

All who came to India before the Muslims and the Christians got assimilated in Indian society. That was not possible without adopting religion, language and culture of the country. But Dhruva is mistaken in referring to Heliodorus in this connection. The Śuṅga ruler Bhāgavata or Bhāgabhadra of Magadha was not a contemporary of Heliodorus but lived a thousand years earlier. Heliodorus came on embassy to some petty king of Vidiśā and became converted to Vaiṣṇavism. The two kings should not be equated simply because their names sound similar.

The prophesy that people will make hostilities for the sake of women, based on a changed reading is also not justified. It is useless to seek hints at some incident in the life of Puṣyamitra in it. We ought to decide the text basing ourselves on what all the Purāṇas say in their description of the Kali age and what is borne out by the manuscripts. So the reading स्त्रीनिमित्तं च मित्राणि करिष्यन्ति न संशयः is preferable.

To conclude, these lines are meant for advancing the cause of research. Every criticism is welcome therefore, including the harshest one. After all, the truth is greater than even the greatest of the mankind.

APPENDIX I

TEXT & TRANSLATION

ततो नरक्षये वृत्ते स्वर्याते नृपमण्डले ॥ १ ॥

वसुदेवसुते कृष्णे देहान्ते च गते सति ॥ २ ॥

भविष्यति कलिर्नाम चतुर्थ पश्चिमं युगम् ॥ ३ ॥

ततः कलियुगस्यान्तः प्रथितः जनमेजयः ॥ ४ ॥

पृथ्व्यां पारिक्षितः श्रीमानुत्पत्स्यति न संशयः ॥ ५ ॥

सोऽपि राजा द्विजैः सार्धं विरोधमुपयास्यति ॥ ६ ॥

दारविप्रकृतामर्षी कालस्य वशमागतः ॥ ७ ॥

ततः कलियुगे राजा शिशुनागकुले बली ॥ ८ ॥

उदयो नाम धर्मात्मा पृथिव्यां प्रथितो गुणैः ॥ ९ ॥

गङ्गातीरे स राजर्षिर्दक्षिणो सुमहावरम् ॥ १० ॥

स्थापयेन्नगरं रम्यं पुष्पारामजनाकुलम् ॥ ११ ॥

तत्तु पुष्पाह्वयं रम्यं पुरं पाटलिपुत्रकम् ॥ १२ ॥

पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणि पञ्चवर्ष शतानि च ॥ १३ ॥

पञ्च संवत्सरान् मासान् पञ्चाहोरात्रपञ्चकम् ॥ १४ ॥

पञ्च चैव मुहूर्तानि स्थास्यत्यत्र न संशयः ॥ १५ ॥

तस्मिन् पुष्पपुरे रम्ये जनारामशताकुले ॥ १६ ॥

क्रतुकर्मक्षयाकूतः शालिशूकः भविष्यति ॥ १७ ॥

स राजाकर्मसु रतो दुष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः ॥ १८ ॥

स्वराष्ट्रमर्दयन् घोरं धर्मवादी ह्यधार्मिकः ॥ १९ ॥

स ज्येष्ठं भ्रातरं साधुं साकेते प्रथितं गुणैः ॥ २० ॥

स्थापयिष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम् ॥ २१ ॥

ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पञ्चाला माथुरास्तथा ॥ २२ ॥

यवनाः दुष्टविक्रान्ताः प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमाह्वयम् ॥ २३ ॥

तैस्तु पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कार्दमे प्रथिते हिते ॥ २४ ॥

आकुलाः विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयाः ॥ २५ ॥

शतद्रुमे महायुद्धमुद्भविष्यति पश्चिमम् ॥ २६ ॥
यवनाश्चापयास्यन्ति नष्टशेषास्तु पार्थिवाः ॥ २७ ॥
ततः पाटलिपुत्रं तत् पुष्पारामसमाकुलम् ॥ २८ ॥
भविष्यति सुसिद्धार्थं प्रस्तुतोत्सवसम्मदम् ॥ २९ ॥
पुरस्य दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वाहनी तत्र दृश्यते ॥ ३० ॥
सहस्त्रैर्गजवाहानां वाहनानां च कल्पिता ॥ ३१ ॥
मध्यदेशेऽपि यवना न ते स्थास्यन्ति दुर्महाः ॥ ३२ ॥
तेषामन्योन्यसम्मर्दि युद्धं परमदारुणाम् ॥ ३३ ॥
आत्मचक्रोत्थितं घोरं भविष्यति न संशयः ॥ ३४ ॥
ततो युद्धवशात्तेषां यवनानां परिक्षये ॥ ३५ ॥
साकेते सप्त राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ॥ ३६ ॥
लोहिताद्रेः प्रतियोधैर्योधाः युद्धपरिक्षताः ॥ ३७ ॥
पृथ्वीं सर्वां करिष्यन्ति रक्तघोरां सुदारुणाम् ॥ ३८ ॥
ततस्तु मगधे कृत्स्ने गङ्गासीने सुदारुणे ॥ ३९ ॥
रक्तपातं महायुद्धं भविष्यति तु पश्चिमम् ॥ ४० ॥
आग्निवेश्यास्तु ते सर्वे राजानो कृतविग्रहाः ॥ ४१ ॥
क्षयं यास्यन्ति युद्धेन तथैषामाश्रितो जनः ॥ ४२ ॥
तदा भद्राख्यको देशो ह्यग्निमित्रस्य कीलितः ॥ ४३ ॥
तस्मिन्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या सुमहारूपशालिनी ॥ ४४ ॥
तदर्थं स नृपो घोरे विग्रहे ब्राह्मणैः सह ॥ ४५ ॥
तदा विधिवशाद् देहं विमोक्ष्यति न संशयः ॥ ४६ ॥
तस्मिन् युद्धे महोघोरे व्यतिक्रान्ते सुदारुणे ॥ ४७ ॥
आग्निवेश्यस्तदा राजा भविष्यति महाप्रभुः ॥ ४८ ॥
तस्यापि विंशद्वर्षाणि राज्यं स्फीतं भविष्यति ॥ ४९ ॥
आग्निवेश्यस्त्वसौ राजा राज्यं प्राप्य महेन्द्रवत् ॥ ५० ॥
भीमैः स शकसंघातैर्विग्रहं समुपैष्यति ॥ ५१ ॥
ततः शकै रणे घोरे प्रवृत्ते सुमहाबले ॥ ५२ ॥

नृपः पृषत्कपातेन मृत्युं समुपयास्यति॥ ५३॥
ततः प्रणष्टचारित्रा अकर्मोपहताः प्रजाः ॥ ५४॥
हरिष्यन्ति शका घोरा बहुलास्ता इति श्रुतिः॥ ५५॥
चतुर्भागं तु शस्त्रेण नाशयिष्यन्ति प्राणिनाम्॥ ५६॥
शकाः शेषं हरिष्यन्ति चतुर्भागं स्वकं पुरम्॥ ५७॥
भविष्यति ततो राजा गोपालो नाम नामतः॥ ५८॥
गोपालस्तु तदा राज्यं भुक्त्वा संवत्सरं नृपः॥ ५९॥
पुष्पकेनाभिसंयुज्य ततो निधनमेष्यति॥ ६०॥
ततो धर्मपरो राजा पुष्पको नाम नामतः ॥ ६१॥
सोऽपि संवत्सरं राज्यं भुक्त्वा निधनमेष्यति॥ ६२॥
ततस्तु शर्विलो राजा ह्यरणः सुमहाबलः॥ ६३॥
सोऽपि वर्षत्रयं भुक्त्वा पृथिवीं निधनमेष्यति॥ ६४॥
ततो विश्यक्यशा कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणो लोकविश्रुतः॥ ६५॥
तस्यापि त्रीणि वर्षाणि राज्यं हृष्टं भविष्यति॥ ६६॥
ततोम्लाटो धनुर्मूलो भविष्यति महाबलः॥ ६७॥
अरणो लोहिताक्षः स पुष्पनाम गमिष्यति॥ ६८॥
स वै तन्नगरं सर्वं शून्यमासादयिष्यति॥ ६९॥
स च म्लेच्छस्ततोम्लाटो रक्ताक्षो रक्तवस्त्रभृत्॥ ७०॥
जनमादाय विवशं पुरमुत्सादयिष्यति॥ ७१॥
तत्र वर्णान्स्तु चतुरः स नृपो नाशयिष्यति॥ ७२॥
वर्णाधोवस्थितान् सर्वान् कृत्वा पुर्यामवस्थितान्॥ ७३॥
अम्लाटो लोहिताक्षः स विपत्स्यति सबान्धवः ॥ ७४॥
शकानां स ततो राजा ह्यर्थलुब्धो महाबलः॥ ७५॥
दुष्टभावश्च पापश्च कलिङ्गान् समुपस्थितः॥ ७६॥
कलिङ्गशातराज्यार्थी विनाशं स गमिष्यति॥ ७७॥
तत्र प्रजायां शेषायां तस्य राज्यपरिक्षये॥ ७८॥
शककाण्डाः शरफलैर्विलुप्ताङ्गाश्च संयति॥ ७९॥

घनिष्ठास्तु हताः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ ८० ॥
ततः सातवरो राजा हत्वा दण्डेन मेदिनीम् ॥ ८१ ॥
व्यतीते दशमे वर्षे मृत्युं समुपयास्यति ॥ ८२ ॥
ह्यर्थलुब्धाः शकाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ॥ ८३ ॥
विनष्टे शकराज्ये तु शून्या पृथ्वी भविष्यति ॥ ८४ ॥
पुष्पं नाम पुरं शून्यं वीभत्सं भविता ततः ॥ ८५ ॥
भविष्यति नृपः कश्चिन्नवः कश्चिद्भविष्यति ॥ ८६ ॥
ततस्तस्मिन् गते काले महायुद्धसुदारुणे ॥ ८७ ॥
शून्या वसुमती घोरा स्त्रीप्रधाना भविष्यति ॥ ८८ ॥
कृषिं नार्यः करिष्यन्ति लाङ्गलोल्वणपाणयः ॥ ८९ ॥
दुर्लभत्वान्मनुष्याणां क्षेत्रे स्युस्ताः धनुर्धराः ॥ ९० ॥
प्रक्षीणाः पुरुषा लोके दिक्षु सर्वासु पर्वसु ॥ ९१ ॥
तदा संघातशो नार्यो भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ ९२ ॥
आश्चर्यमिति मंस्यन्ते दृष्ट्वाथो पुरुषं स्त्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥
विंशतिर्दश वा भार्या भविष्यन्ति नरस्य वै ॥ ९४ ॥
स्त्रियो व्यवहरिष्यन्ति ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ॥ ९५ ॥
नष्टस्वास्थ्या भविष्यन्ति गृहस्था रक्तवाससः ॥ ९६ ॥
अनार्या आर्यधर्माश्च भविष्यन्ति नराधमाः ॥ ९७ ॥
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्राश्चैव युगेन्तिमे ॥ ९८ ॥
समवेषाः समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ ९९ ॥
पाषण्डैः स्युः समायुक्ताः नरास्तस्मिन् युगेन्तिमे ॥ १०० ॥
स्त्रीनिमित्तं च मित्राणि करिष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ १०१ ॥
चीरवल्कलसंवीता जटामण्डलधारिणः ॥ १०२ ॥
भिक्षुका वृषला लोके भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ १०३ ॥
यज्ञकार्येऽथ जप्ये च ह्यग्निके च दृढव्रताः ॥ १०४ ॥
शूद्रा कलियुगस्यान्तर्भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ १०५ ॥
ओङ्कारप्रथमैर्मन्त्रैर्युगेन्त्ये समुपस्थिते ॥ १०६ ॥

चेताग्नीन् वृषला लोके होष्यन्ति ह्यलघुक्रियाः ॥ १०७ ॥

भोवादिनश्च शूद्राः स्युर्ब्राह्मणाश्चार्यवादिनः ॥ १०८ ॥

धर्ममीततमा बौद्धाः भोक्ष्यन्ते निर्भयाः जनान् ॥ १०९ ॥

तदा पापहते लोके दुर्भिक्षो रोमहर्षणः ॥ ११० ॥

भविष्यति युगे ह्यन्त्ये सर्वप्राणिविनाशनः ॥ १११ ॥

जनमारस्ततो घोरो भविष्यति न संशयः ॥ ११२ ॥

देवो द्वादश वर्षाणि अनावृष्टिं करिष्यति ॥ ११३ ॥

प्रजा नाशं गमिष्यन्ति भूयो दुर्भिक्षपीडिताः ॥ ११४ ॥

Translation :

[The foregoing text differs from that of Dhruva in several important respects. There are differences in arrangement and readings. So the translation of the text is given below for sake of convenience. It is mostly an adoption of the translation done by Dhruva, exception in case of the lines where revision of text demands revision of the translation too. So acknowledgement is due to Prof. K. H. Dhruva.]

1. After the terrible carnage of human beings and the departure of the kings to the other world, and after Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva, having left his mortal frame, there will set in the fourth, that is, the last age, called the Kali age. Then in that Kali age there will verily be born the glorious king Janamejaya, son of Parīkṣit, famous all over the earth. And that king indignant at the obscene and offensive conduct towards the queen, impelled by Destiny will fallout with the Brāhmaṇas [Lines 1-7].

2. Then in that Kali age there will be a powerful and pious king called Udaya, of the family of Śiśunāga, well known for his virtues in the whole world. The royal sage will found, on the southern bank of the Ganges, a beautiful city with very lofty fortification, teeming with people and studded all over with gardens. That beautiful city, called Pāṭaliputra or Puṣpāhvaya, will verily remain for a period of five thousand, five hundred and five years, five months, five days and five muhūrtas (that is, four hours). [Lines 8-15].

3. In that beautiful city of Puṣpapura studded with hundred of public parks, there will arise Śāliśūka intent on the abolition of Sacrificial ritual. That wicked king, addicted to evil deads, fond of quarrel, talking religion but (really) irreligious, steered in delusion, will terribly persecute the people of his own kingdom and instal his noble, elder brother Vijaya, famous for his virtues in Sāketa. [Lines 16-21].

4. Thereafter the Yavanas of Panchāla and Mathurā, brave but cruel, having attacked Sāketa will reach Puṣpapura. Whey they will reach Puṣpapura and construct an earthen cause way (across the moat), all countries will verily be seized with panic. The last great battle will take place at Śatadruma. The surviving Yavana chiefs will make good their escape. [Lines 22-27]

5. There at the city of Pāṭaliputra with countless gardens, having won a victory, will be jubilant with holiday celebrations. To the south of the city there will be the army, consisting of thousands of war elephants, war horses, and war-cars, to engage the sight. The haughty yavanas will stay even in the Madhyadesa (i.e. they will lose their political power even in the Madhyadeśa), Because a very fierce and terrible war will break out among their own people which will be eventually destructive. [Lines 28-34].

6. Subsequent to the destruction of the Yavanas in the war, there will be seven powerful kings in Sāketa. Their brave soldiers will cause the earth shockingly red and terrible to look at on account of the corpses of their opponents of Lohitādri. Ultimately they will plunge the entire country adjacent to the Gaṅgā in war, which will be very severe and bloody. All those kings of the Agniveśa gotra having indulged in hostilities will perish in war and so will their dependents. [Lines 35-42].

7. At that time, the country called Bhadra will be under the control of Agnimitra. A damsel of transcendent beauty will be born there. That king will wage terrible war with the Brāhmaṇas for her and fall in battle by the ordinance of Destiny without doubt. When that dreadful and deadly war will be over, a king of the Agniveśa gotra will become the emperor. His prosperous rule will last twenty years. [Lines 43-49].

8. That king belonging to Agniveśa gotra having attainted a kingdom like that of Indra, will be engaged in a war with powerful Śaka hordes. Fighting a bloody battle with the powerful Śakas, he will be pierced by an arrow. Then the people who had fallen from righteousness and betaken to the wrong faith, will, as foretold in Purāṇic tradition, be carried away in large numbers (as slaves) by the dreadful Śakas. One-fourth of the population will be massacred by the Śakas and the other fourth part that will remain will be taken to their city. [Lines 50-57].

9. Then there will be a king called Gopāla. Thereafter the king Gopāla having ruled for a year, will engage in war with Puṣpaka and will be slain by him. Then the virtuous man called Puṣpaka will become king. He, too, after one year's rule, will meet death and the mighty, unassailable one, Śarvila will be king. Having ruled the earth for three years, he too will die. Then a Brāhmaṇa, Viśvakyaśā, well-known to the people, will carry on his happy reign for three years. (Lines 58-66].

10. Thereafter there will be mighty Amlāṭa whose (whole) wealth will be his bow. That red-eyed Śaka against whom no one will dare enter the lists, will march on Puṣpapura will find the town deserted. Then that barbarian Amlāṭa of red eyes, wearing red garments, will put to the sword the people and depopulate the city. That king will massacre men of all the-four varṇas. Having repopulated the city with persons below the four varṇas, red-eyed Amlāṭa will perish with his relations (in the following manner). [Lines 67-74].

11. Then that powerful king of the Śakas, who was wicked and unholy, will invade the country of the Kalingas being actuated by greed. Attempting to Seize the territories of the Kalingas, belonging to the Śāta (i.e. Sātavāhana) family, he will lose his life and the dense hordes of the Śakas, without fail, be destroyed by the volleys of arrows. Then that king who was the flower of the Śāta family, will conquer the land (of Magadha) and die at the end of the tenth year. The powerful Śakas will be avaricious. The powerful Śakas will be avaricious. The end of the Śaka rule will leave the land desolate; and the beautiful city of Puṣpapura will present a dismal sight. After that

I wish it will be again the capital of a new king in future. [Lines 75-86].

12. Past that epoch dreadful on account of great wars, the land will be desolate and frightful to look at; and it will mainly contain woman population. Owing to the scarcity of males there will be females drawing the plough, tilling the soil, wielding bows and guarding fields. In the country all over at festivals the attendance of men will verily be thin, whereas women will be seen in crowds. What a wonder women will say to themselves on seeing a man. There will be ten to twenty wives of one man. In towns and villages all business will be transacted by women. Strangers to peaceful joys, householders will put on coloured robes.

And the lowest of the low, the non-Aryans, will be following the practices of the Āryans. In the concluding age Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras will wear the same costume and observe the same religious practices. that is certain. In that last age orthodox people will mix with heretics. They will certainly make friends for the sake of women. And verily there will be Śūdra Bhikṣus, having matted hair and bark garments. In that Kali age Śūdras, observing with constancy self disciplinary vows, will doubtlessly officiate at scarifices in the matter of repeating sacred texts and of attending to the sacrificial fire. When the last age will prevail, Śūdras practising, lengthy ceremonial, will offer oblation to the three householder's fires with hymns ushered in with the mystic syllable 'om'. "Respected Sir" will be the address of a Śūdra and "good sir" of a Brāhmaṇa. Venerable persons that will have stayed very far from dharma, will fearlessly eat up the earning of the laity.

Then in that last age there will be famine causing trepidation to people foredoomed by their sins, and resulting in the destruction of all living beings. And dreadful, no doubt, will be the havoc made. At that time god Indra will withhold rain for twelve years and most of the people will die of starvation. [Lines 87-114].

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON ORDER & READINGS OF THE TEXT

Order : Lines 1 to 26 demand no change in order. Lines 41 refers to the Yavanas (in Jayaswal's text), so Dhruva is right in placing it after line 26.

Rejoicings that took place in Pāṭaliputra after the departure of the Yavanas are the content of lines 78-82 in Jayaswal (referred to as J. hereafter), so logically they deserve being placed after the above.

Lines 42-52, in J. describe the destruction of the Yavanas in Madhyadeśa caused by civil war and the subsequent events. So Duruva places them rightly after line 31 (Line 32-42).

As lines 83-93 in J. are related to the lines 41-42, Dhruva is right in placing them after line 42. Then, lines 106-109 refer to the atrocities committed by the Śaka invaders which is relevant after line 53 (J).

So the order in Dhruva's edition is right so far as the first 57 lines are concerned.

Manuscripts are unanimous in showing an interval between the first inroad of the Śakas and the campaign of Amlāṭa. Four kings ruled during the interval. So the lines about the four intervening kings (lines 70-78 in J.) deserve a place after line 57. Dhruva places them after Amlāṭa because he believes that they were all Śakas, a contention not supported by the readings in the manuscripts. So these we have placed after line 57 (58-66), the lines about the four kings and lines about Amläṭa's invasion after that 67-69).

Lines 64-79 (J.) too are concerned with Amlāṭa. They describe his atrocities committed at Pāṭaliputra and also his end. So they come naturally after the above.

Lines 53-55 (J.) explain how Amlāṭa perished with his relations. Their place is, therefore, after line 74. Line 110 (J.) deserves being placed after that for obvious reasons.

We differ from Dhruva about the place of the above lines, but we agree with him about J. 56-57. As they deal with the end of the Śakas they ought to follow the above. So, as in Dhruva, they are lines 79-80 in our arrangement.

The next two lines in Dhruva describe how the Sāta king gained supremacy and how long he ruled after the end of Amlāṭa. Our arrangement here is the same as that of Dhruva.

Lines 83-114 are adopted from Dhruva in the same order.

Readings

All the references below are to the number of lines in our version given above.

Lines 1-2 : Dhruva has corrected these lines grammatically and historically. The Kali age began after the death of Kṛṣṇa, not after the death of Draupadī.

Line 4 : As Janamejaya belongs not to the end of the Kali age, but to the beginning of it Dhruva replaces अन्ते in J. with अन्त: rightly.

Line 7 : दारविप्रकृतामर्षी is the corrected reading adopted from Dhruva.

Line 8-9 : As Udaya or Udayī was not son of Śiśunāga, शिशुनागकुले बली suggested by Dhruva is adopted to replace शिशुनागात्मजो and उदधी in line 10 is replaced with उदयो, though उदयी is also likely.

Line 10 : सुमहावरम्, the reading suggested by Dhruva is adopted for grammatical reasons.

Line 12 : पुरं पाटलिपुत्रकम् replaces नगरं पाटलीसुतम् as in Dhruva.

Line 16 : Dr. R. M. Smith favours the reading जनराजशताकुले but we have replaced it with जनारामशताकुले after Dhruva.

Line 17 : The reading ऋभुक्षाकर्मसुतो makes no sense. The reading proposed by Dhruva is adopted here as it is sensible and suits the context.

Line 18 : The reading स च राजा कर्मसूतो makes no sense, कर्मसुतो may be substituted but nobody called कर्म is known to us in the Maurya dynasty. Dhruva reads स राजाकर्मनिरतो, But it is more likely that the available reading is the result of dropping a 'र' by the copyist. So we read स राजाकर्मसु रतो.

Line 19 : Replacing अर्दते with अर्हयन् is justified but Dhruva is wrong in replacing स्वराष्ट्रं with सौराष्ट्रम्. The context shows Śāliśūka had become the king of Magadha at the time, he was not the governor of Saurāṣtra. Dhruva has distorted the text to his fancy.

Line 20 : साकेते प्रथितं गुणैः is changed to सम्प्रतिं प्रथयन् गणैः according to his preconceived notions, partly shared by Jayaswal. The change is not

supported by any of the manuscripts and सम्प्रति was not brother of Śāliśūka but his father. That is proved by 'The Purāṇa text of the Dynasties of the Kali age' edited by Pargiter and also by the internal evidence of the *Yugapurāṇa*.

Line 21 : स्थापयिष्यति is the reading of the manuscripts. It is quite sensible. Vijaya was the eldest brother of Śāliśūka. But instead of permitting to become the king, he made him a governor of Sāketa and usurped the throne of Magadha. Dhruva replaces it with ख्यापयिष्यति because of his bias.

Line 22 : We restore the reading of the manuscripts here. Dhruva reads ततः शाकलमाक्रम्य पञ्चालान् माथुरांस्तथा and argues that it is "unlikely that an invader from the west should first subjugate Ayodhyā and then turn westward to conquer the Pānchāla and Saurasena countries". But the Yavanas residing in Pānchāla and Saurasena countries could well march on Sāketa. So his argument is untenable.

Line 23 : कुसुमाह्वयम् instead of कुसुमध्वजम् adopted from Dhruva.

Line 24 : कार्दमे for कर्दमे suggested by Dhruva.

Line 26 : Dhruva reads तत्रोद्दामम् but Dr. R. M. Smith favours शतद्रुमम् and contends that the battle took place on the bank of the river Śatadru in Punjab but the context suggests a place near Pāṭaliputra. Probably it was the name of some garden or open space. If we read शुभद्रुमम् , it may mean the country of Magadha as the epithet occurs in the *Mahābhārata* for it —देशोऽयं गोधनाकीर्णं मधुमन्तं शुभद्रुमम् (2/21/31/2).

Line 27 : यवनाः ज्ञापयिष्यन्ति etc. in the manuscripts makes no sense. We have adopted Dhruva's reading.

Line 36 : Dhruva replaces साकेते with शाकले but there is nothing in history, geo-graphy or military science to exclude the possibility of seven mighty kings in Sāketa. The line does not mean they were simultaneous rulers as assumed by Dhruva.

Line 37 : Dhruva changes लोहिताद्रेः to लोहितार्द्रैः but lohitādri is not unlikely. It may refer to some hill and the region around that.

Line 41 : Dhruva replaces आग्निवेश्याः with पुष्यमित्रेण which shows simply his ignorance. It means 'people of the Agniveśa gotra'.

Line 43 : Dhruva replaces भद्राख्यको देशो with मद्राख्यके देशे as he thinks a

country called भद्र was unknown in India. He is wrong. Even more objectionable is replacement of अग्निमित्र with पुष्यमित्र due to some prejudices. कीलके incorrected as कीलित: here and taken to mean 'ruled by', 'protected by'. It is supported by the *Amarakośa* बद्धे कीलित संयतौ (Kāṇḍa III, Varga I, Verse 42).

Line 45 : Dhruva's reading is based on the assumption that Puṣyamitra fought with the Greeks. So ब्राह्मणै: सह is changed to अब्रह्मण्यै: सह but the dispute took place between the king अग्निमित्र and the Brāhmaṇas.

Line 48 : The text has nothing to do with the Śuṅgas and therefore आग्निवेश्य cannot be replaced by अग्निमित्र as done by Dhruva.

Line 49 : Dhruva replaces विंशद् with त्रिंशद् without least justification. We stick to the manuscript as ever.

Line 50 : Dhruva reads वसुमित्रात् ततो राज्ञः प्राप्ता राज्यमथौद्रक: But the text does not intend to describe the family line of the Śuṅgas. So we restore the original.

Line 51 : We follow Dhruva here in replacing शबरसंघातै: with शकसंघातै: as not the primitive Śabaras but the Śakas seem to be a strong enemy.

Line 53 : As the king's death could not have been caused by falling from the back of an ox, but by an arrow we agree with Dhruva is replacing वृषपातेन with वृषत्कपातेन.

Line 61 : Dhruva reads ततोधर्मपरो but we prefer ततो धर्मपरो which means the king was religious. Proceeding with the assumption that the king was a Śaka, Dhruva manipulates it to derive the opposite meaning.

Line 65 : Dhruva changes the reading here according to his bias. We stick to the manuscripts, however, which show that a Brāhmana king Visvakyaśā is mentioned here.

Line 66 : Dhruva changes हृष्टं to दुष्टं which is a simple case of prejudice.

Line 101 : We stick to the original. Even in other Purāṇas we find the assertion that people will make friends for sake of women. It means, men will be closer to the near ones of their wives than to their own blood relations.

Line 113 : This line does not refer to some historical event. It is a prophesy about what will happen at the end of the Kali age. All the Purāṇas mention a draught of twelve years in such a context. The reading need not be changed, therefore, as done by Dhruva.

APPENDIX III

ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEXT

As the text has been rearranged by the author, this table shows the comparative position of the lines. The first column marked 'R' stands for the arrangement of the lines done by the author, the second column shows their position in Dhruva's version (marked 'D') and the third column (marked 'J') refers to the edition of Jayaswal.

R	D	J
1-26	1-26	1-26
27	27	41
28-31	28-31	79-82
32-42	32-42	42-52
43-53	43-53	83-93
54-57	54-57	106-109
58-66	67-75	70-78
67-74	58-65	61-69
75-77	76-78	53-55
78	66	110
79-80	79-80	56-57
81-82	81-82	104-105
83	83	64
84-86	84-86	58-60
87-96	87-96	94-103
97-109	97-109	27-40
110-112	110-112	113-115
113-114	113-114	111-112

WOMEN'S RIGHT TO IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

(A case Study of two Chandella Queens)

Dr. K. K. Shah

The author in this paper has dealt with a copper-plate inscription of Madan Varman Chandella dated V.S. 1192 (A.D. 1136) which clearly mentions the grant of lands to a brāhmaṇa by the queens Valhaṇa devī and Chandala devī. subject to the condition of the King's permission. The inscription thus establishes the freedom of women in the society to hold and grant property in those days keeping in line with the laws on the subject as described by Yājñavalkya and Kauṭilya.

Economic status is always the correct key to the position of woman in any society or civilization. How far she enjoyed financial freedom will also determine her freedom in other walks of life. It has been aptly and perceptively observed that though the changing position of women in relation to changes in the structure of society was not often a focus of analytic concern, most anthropologists acknowledged that women had a higher relative status in economically egalitarian societies than in stratified and industrial and in societies organised along matrilinear rather than patrilinear lines of descent. This is very well authenticated from anthropological studies one of which we might note here. Among Alaskan Tlingits the division between domestic and public domains is not pronounced. Nor are the domains identified as male or female. The Tlingits are an example of a matrilinear society which has got sufficiently differentiated under the impact of the larger American Society, but

which has adjusted with it without destroying its sexual egalitarianism.[1] Men and women are active participants in the economic activities outside the household, and the traditional sexual division of labour still operates in the commercial realm of fishing and processing. In the new occupations of the modern economy women have a higher rate of year round employment than men. Although in the household sphere "domestic work and child-care" are primarily the responsibility of women, men also engage in these activities.

Property in its most general usage denotes ownership or the thing owned. But this is of relatively recent origin. The word ownership begins to come into use only in the 16th century, and the word property in its English form only in the 18th century.[2] An extreme statement of the norm of private property which underlies common usage in modern Western Societies is contained in Blackstone's definition; that sole and despotic domain a man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe.[3] Property rights are, in effect, protected powers of very varying extent and significance to make decisions about the disposal of valuables (alienation by gifts or sale, destruction or bequest of movable objects, including livestocks; land and water; and immaterial entities such as shares, leases, copyrights, etc.)[4]

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1. P. N. Mukherjee, : "Sex and Social Inequality : A methodological Approach" in A. K. Gupta *Women and Society,* Criterion Publications, new Delhi, 1968, p. 8.
2. J. Gould & William L. Kolb : *A Dictionary of Social Sciences* Property, The Free Press, NewYork, 1969.
3. Blackstone : *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* Clarendon Press, (5th Edn.) Oxford, 1965.
4. William L. Kolb, J. Gould : Op. Cit. P. 549.

The question of a women's right to property has been a subject of great controversy ever since the compilation of legal treatises in India. On the one hand, we have an opinion that 'in no ancient or medieval system of law, except the Mohammedan and the later Roman, have so large concessions been made in favour of the proprietary rights of women"[5] and on the other, we also have a generalisation from an eminent authority to the effect, "A woman according to most authorities was always a minor at law".[6] In any case, most schools of law allowed a woman some personal property called *Strīdhana* which stood as a category in itself. As regards the constituent elements of *Strīdhana,* the *Dharmasūtras* refer to ornaments and presents from her relatives.[7] Manu was the first law-giver of *Dharma-Śāstra* School to define *Strīdhana* concept in clear terms. In his opinion the things given to a woman before the (nuptial) fire, on the bridal procession in token of love, presents given by brother, mother and father are called the six fold property of a woman.[8] Alike seems to have been the opinion held by Yājñavalkya, according to whom things given to a woman by her father, mother, son or brother, given before the nuptial fire, payment given in connection with supersession or any other separate acquisition are called *Strīdhana.*[9] Subsequently he states that her property also consists of gifts by her kinsmen or her nuptial fee or

5. Gurudass Banerjee, : *The Hindu Law of Marriages and Strīdhana Mittal Publications (Reprint)* Delhi, 1984, p. 32.
6. *The Wonder that was India,* Rupa and Co., Second impression Calcutta 1974.
7. *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra,* II, 6, 14, 9.
   Gautama Dharma Sūtra XXXIII. 25.
   Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra II. 2.3.44.
   Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra XVII 81.84.
8. Manu, IX, 194.
9. Yāj. II, 143-144.

gifts after marriage. Clarifying the case of supersession he says that the superseded wife, if obedient to her husband's commands, diligent in the household management, mother of an excellent son and speaking kindly is entitled to the third part of her husband's property. In case, her husband is poor, she could claim maintenance only.[10] He further legislates that in case the superseded wife has no *Strīdhana,* she is entitled to get an equal amount spent in the second marriage of her husband, but if she has some property, she is entitled to the half of it.[11]

The concept of *Strīdhana* has been taken by Kauṭilya to be as cash upto two thousand *Kārṣāpaṇas* or land assigned (*Vṛtti*) for her subsistence and ornaments.[12] Thus there we have clear endorsement of cash combined with ornaments or land combined with ornaments as constituting *strīdhana*.

In the light of above, it is interesting to examine a copper-plate record of Madanavarman Chandella contained in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi. The plates are dated in the year v.s. 1192, corresponding to A.D. 1136. The operative portion of the order begins from line 7 and is addressed to the villagers of Valhauḍā *grāma*. The text contains three separate orders first of which is in respect of the grant of $2\frac{1}{4}$ *padas* of land in the village made by the king from his military camp at Pareyigrāma, to Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍita Someśarman hailing from *Bhṭṭṭāgrahāra* of Pāṭaliputra. The second beneficiary is *Dīkṣita* Nārāyaṇaśarman hailing from the *Bhaṭṭāgrahāra* of Paṇikavaḍa.

Here it is stated that originally Aṣṭavālagrāma in Erachchha-paṭṭala was granted to Nārāyaṇaśarman in exchange for the lands in

10. *Ibid.* I. 76.
11. II. 148.
12. *A. S.* III. 2-14-15 (Kangle's Edition)
13. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 14

his possession at Pipalaha in Tintripaṭṭala, Vasauha in Kolavapaṭṭala, Gaula in Vandiuri-paṭṭala, Dadarī in Navaratha-paṭṭala and Denavāda in Mahisiṇeha-paṭṭala.

Now the king granted to the same Brāhmaṇa four *padas* of land apparently at Valahauḍāgrāma in exchange for Aṣṭavālagrāma and the land in his possession at Pipalahāgrāma in Tintripaṭṭala as well as his lands at Valahauḍāgrāma in Mahisiṇeha-paṭṭala and Devahagrāma in Nandavana-paṭṭala which he had received respectively from Naduka, the priest attached to *Rājñī* Lakhamādevī and Someka, son of Ṭhakkura Śrī-śrīpāla. It is noteworthy here that the priest who is mentioned as *Purohita* figures without his *Gotra* and *Pravaras* as is the case with the donees. Secondly, in all likelihood the land donated by him had been gifted to him by the *Rājñī* to whom he had been attached. It is also worth noting that the lands were located in various villages of different districts.

The third beneficiary of the grant is Brāhmaṇa Sahajuśarman, a brother of Someśarman of the earlier order. The operative portion records that he received from the king $1\frac{3}{4}$ *padas* of land, evidently at Valhauḍāgrāma in Mahisiṇeha-paṭṭala in exchange for his lands at Pipalaha-grāma in Tintripaṭṭala and Mahuali-grāma in Kolava-paṭṭala which he had received respectively from *Mahārājñī* Valhaṇadevī and Rājñī Chāndaladevī. As this portion concerns the very theme of this paper the relevant lines are quoted below from the original :

Tathā Pāṭalīputra bhaṭṭāgrahāra Vinirggatāya Kautsa-Gotrāya, Angirasa-Ambariṣa-Yauvanaṣava tripravarāya, Avasthi Devadha -prapautrāya -Dviveda Sahāraṇa - pautrāya, Ṭhakkura srī - srīpāla - Putra Panditasahju Śarmaṇe Brāhmaṇāya Mahārājñī srī Vālhaṇadevy -āsmad -anumatyā Timtri -paṭṭālayam bhūmim rājñī-srī -chāndaladevyā -chāsmad, amumatyā Kolava Paṭṭalāyam Mahuali -Grāme dattatvād - etadiyam bhūmim = ā-dāya parivartte pādona pada -dvayam dattam = iti matvā

bhavadbhir = ājña - śravaṇa - vidheyair bhutvā bhoga = paśu -hiraṇya -kara- śulka ādi -sarvvam -ebhyaḥ samupanetavyam.[13]

The phrase *asmad -anumatyā* reminds us readily of a provision of Manu when he legislates that women should not make a hoard from the family property or that of the husband without permission. However, it will be debatable whether the permission required here was given by the king in his capacity as husband or as Lord of all the land in his kingdom whose assent is indispensable for alienation of land. It may be mentioned that the plate is silent about the rent free character of the grant as it is not very clearly stated.

The Chief importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it clearly mentions claim or title of the queens to landed wealth, howsoever conditional. There must have been separate entry in the land records of revenue department to the effect that ownership rights stood in the name of the queens. There might have been other Chandella queens enjoying landed property but our available records rarely refer to such cases. From Ajaygadh Rock Inscription of Bhojavarman we learn of the charity of Queen Kalyāṇadevī who financed the digging of a well and construction of a hall nearby.[14] Thus here also the wealth held by the Queen must have been hard cash.

If we interpret in the light of legislation framed by Yājñavalkya, it is also possible that one or more of the Queens got this landed wealth on being superseded, since only one of them could be enjoying the good favour of the king. Possibly Kauṭilya's provision pertaining to *Vṛtti* for subsistence may also explain the rare reference.

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13. *Epigraphia Indica :* Vol. XXXII, No. 14.
14. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 330.

NOMENCLATURE OF BUNDELKHAND A RETROSPECT

Pranav Dev

Falna (Raj.)

The Bundelkhaṇḍa region was originally a war prone area. Geo-political situations and changes gave it various nomenclatures. The region conceived the popular nomenclature Bundelkhaṇḍa due to the influence of medieval Bundelā rulers.

As by its name itself the 'Bundelkhand' seems to denote a 'geographical expression' but the scholars are not having uniform view regarding its geographical extent. Though apart from geographical set up any area always get affected by its socio-political set-up. The language, literature and the culture of locality also denominate the regions. In the study of historical geography the changing factor in geographical set-up, its effect on historical developments, living style of its inhabitants and changes according to time and place and investigation into archaeological monuments or remains have been included.[1] The cultural and historical prosperity of any region is always affected by the geographical factors of that area. Therefore enriched cultural heritage and glorious art, socio-economic and political set up, ancient historical factors and religious traditions of Bundelkhand are the resultant of its

1. N.C. Prince, *Review of Progress in Historical Geography* Introduction.

geographical set up. The imperial Gazetteer[2] holds that the nomenclature of Bundelkhand is taken from that of the Bundelā Ṭhākurs. V. A. Smith opined 'The use of word Bundelkhand is vague and indefinite, the only official recognition of it, being the application of the collective term 'Bundelkhand Agency' to a group of petty native states of Pannā, Charkhāri and others which one comprised with in the larger group known as Central India Agency[3]. During the medieval period the Bundelās were the prominent social and political power and therefore the Bundelkhand nomenclaure was adopted. In this context the story described in *'Vīra Singh Deva Charita' and 'Kshutra-Prakāsa'* are generally referred[4] to.

On defining Bundelkhand Dr. K. K. Shah[5] has delved deep into various aspect of Bundelkhand and its nomenclature like Ancient Chedi, Jijhoti, Jejākbhukti, 'Vindhyadesh' etc. First of all let us take word Bundellā. We have seen that Bundellā Ṭhākurs, though in minority, were the dominant class in the area. The British coined or adopted the term 'Bundelkhand'. to designate the land disregarding the majority consisting of jojhotiās. It is worthy of mention that the earliest appearance of Bundelās can not be taken beyond 14th century A.D. and whatever knowledge we have of the founder of their class is based on legends and stories figuring in bardic accounts of Bundelā courts. One such work titled *Kṣhutra-Prakāśa* has already been referred to which was prepared under the patronage

2. Vol. IX New Addition *today and tomorrow's* Printers & Publishers, New Delhi p. 68.
3. *The history and coin age of the Chandel* (Chandella) : The Dynasty of Bundelkhand (Jejākabhukti) from 831-1203 AD *IA*, Vol. XXXVII, 1908 p. 130.
4. Brij Ratna Dasa, Bundelon Kā Itihāsa. *Nāgrī Prachārinī Sabhā Patrikā*. pt. 3, p. 420.
5. *Ancient Bundelkhand,* Gyan Publishing House, Delhi.

of Rājā Chatrasāl. The book gives a mythical origin to the Bundelā class and connects them with Lord Rāma of Ayodhyā and marks them out at Kṣatriya's of solar line. It is very clear that the account betrays an attempt by the bard to impart a respectable social position to the Bundela's Hindu hierarchy. It is indeed a fact, that nowhere in ancient records or literature we have any reference to the said class. The another bardic fabrication accounts their origin from 'Bund' which is also not so trust-worthy. The Orcha Gazetteer[6] derives the word Bundellā from Vindhyelā. The writer of Hādi Qatul' Aqaleem' believes that the Bundelās were born by one Hardeva Geharwār Rājput and one Bāndi. Because of Bāndi they were named Bundellās[7]. According to Smith the Bunellās, although counted as Rājputs, admittedly, are of mixed blood and probably descended from an intermarriage between a Gaharwar Rājput chief and a Khangar girl[8].

Gorelal Tiwari, who was the first scholar to write a short history of Bundelkhand believed that the name originated from 'Vindhykhand'[9]. Though Dr. Shah accepted that the Vindhyas form the sole mountain range of the region but he does not take the suggestion as the term Vindhyelkhand never remained current in common parlance or kingly records. But this suggestion of Vindhyalkhand is quite appealing since the goddess 'Vindhya Vāsinī was widely worshipped by Bundellā and one of ancestors of bundellā was Vindhyarāj. Therefore it might be possible the term Vindhyelā became Bundelā.

B.P. Tripathi based his views on philological laws and

6. *Orchā Gazetteer*, p. 12.

7. *Hādi Qatual Aqaleem* p. 167.

8. *The History and Coinage*, O.P. Cit p. 130.

9. *Bundelkhaṇḍa kā Sankṣipta Itihāsa, Prayāg* 1933 p. 1.

attempted to trace the root of the word 'Bundela' from the ancient tribe of the Pulindas', who inhabitated the region. According to his theory it came to be known a 'Bo1nid' and in course of time ultimately gave birth to the present word 'Bundella'. He also refers to a script called Polindi or Bolindi which was current in ancient times[10]. Of course it is a fact that 'Pulindas' dwelt in Bundelkhand stands amply attested by epigraphic records and Sanskrit literature. Earliest among the inscriptions in which they figure are Asokan Edicts though their exact geographical location can not be made out[11]. There concentration in certain areas of Central India in substantial numbers is evident from the Nawagrām grant of Mahārājā Hastin[12]. In fact the expression 'Pulinda-Rāṣṭra' occuring in this Parivrājaka inscription, leaves us in no doubt that even after centuries of Aryanisation, pockets of Pulindas-weilding political power continued to exist side by side with Brahmanical settlements. though under an Aryan overload, as late as A.D. 517. The Rāṣṭra clearly stands for an administrative unit of the Parivrājaka kingdom but the prefix 'Pulind rāja' speaks of a dominion of the chief of Pulindas.

Though some sort of social stratification set-in and the tribes were no longer homogenous as in the past but Pulindas had their wild existence is proved by in late thirteenth century record. Ajaygarh Rock inscription of the time of Bhojvarman tells us that Anand, the local governor, reduced to submission the wild tribes of Bhillas, Shabaras and Pulindas[13]. Original tribes of Central India, with whom these are to be identified, have been a constant headache

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10. *Bundelkhaṇḍa Kī Prācīnatā*. Varanasi, 1965 p. 7-9.
11. R.B. Pande *Historical and literary Inscriptions*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, Vol. XXIII Varanasi. 1962; p. 195.
12. *Epigraphic Indica* XXI No. 20.
13. *E.I.I.* No. 38 (II), VS p. 21-22.

for the administration. They might have owed certain allegiance to the monarch when strong, yet lived for the most part free of control and indulged in their hereditary propensities for fighting and plunder, for we come across a couple of other local chiefs also in our records claiming to have suppressed them[14]. In Sanskrit literature '*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*' gives the ancient account of Pulindas along with Shabaras, with whom they had always been associated and sometimes confounded[15].

Brahmāṇḍa[16] and *Matsya Purāṇas*[17] place the country of the 'Pulindas in the Vindhya region. So also does Kālidāsa, the noted poet and dramatist[18]. The district Gazetteer of Sāgar mentions 'Pulindas-desh' as name for the Western part of Bundelkhand[19].

It is sufficiently clear from the evidence cited above that Pulindas prominently figure in the history, society and politics of Bundelkhand down to the decline of the Chandella power. Strange enough, they are not heard thereafter the metamorphosis of the word Pulinda, the historical stages of the change can not be properly marked out. But the non-appearance of Bundelas earlier than fourteenth century A.D. and disappearance of Pulindas later interregnum reappear as Bundelas. May be most of them continued with their old identity but the possibility of a section, perhaps martial in character, acquiring new name, more or less akin to old, can not be entirely ruled out. The process of Hinduisation was an ongoing

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14. Jhānsi Inscription of Sallakshana Singh, *E.I.I.* Bo. 25 L-7.
15. E.I. XXI p. 106.
16. Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa of Maharshi Vyās. Edited by Acharaya Jagdish Shastri, Motilal Banarsi Das (Reprit) Delhi, 1983 p. 23.
17. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Edited by Shri Rama Pratap Tripathi Shastri. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan Prayaga, Samvat 2003 p. 265.
18. *Raghuvaṃśam* 16.32.
19. *District Gazetteers*, Sagar p. 65.

one and foreigners as well as aborigines found their place in the Hindu hierarchy in consonance with their character, profession etc. The non-Aryan origin might also explain why the Bundelas do not occupy an eminent position among the Rajputs, to which community they claim to belong. In course of time when they obtained political prominence in the whole of Bundelkhand, the legend concerning their birth from 'Bund' and a mythical connection with the Sun-descended Kṣatriyas was too willingly invented by the courtesy Chroniclers, by the time the British came on the stage of Bundelkhand's history, the Bundel's were well entrenched in the local society and quality, so the territory was designated after their class name.

During the Mahājanpada age few scholars opine that the land of Bundelkhand was identified as Chedi and the name has been dated to the Ṛgvedic period[20]. B.C. Law located it lying near the Jamuna contiguous to the kingdom of the Kurus roughly corresponding to modern Bundelkhand[21]. V.V. Mirashi[22] also accepted the above concept of ancient Bundelkhand, but he includes the modern Baghelkhand also in his observation. The nomenclature of Chedi went into disuse through passing of time and there is no such means to ascertain the same. During the imperial Guptas the area had no official appellation and was being referred to simply by its river frontiers-the Kālindi in the North and the Narmada in the South. Eran stone pillar inscription of emperor Budhagupta omits the name of this Gupta province and yet makes specific mention of Mahārājā Surashmi Chandra, the contemporary governor changed

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20. M.L. Nigam, *Cultural History of Bundelkhand,* Sandeep Prakashan, Delhi (1983) preface p. VII.
21. *Historical Geography of Ancient India* ESS publication, Delhi 1967 pp. 312-13.
22. *E.I.* XXVII p. 168.

with protecting the people[23]. The Parivrājakas were contemporary rulers of the later imperical Guptas. Fleet equated Dabhala or Dehala of Parivrājaka records with modern Bundelkhand. However, this version of the name Dabhāla can not be accepted since no other document, literary or inscriptional, testifies to its having ever been applied to Bundelkhand.

The *Harṣacaritam* of Bāṇa, a biographer and court poet of King Harṣa of Kannauj testifies the Suzerain of Harṣa over Bundelkhand and gives a vivid and graphic account of the area under study. However, his description can not be fully taken for Bundelkhand as he uses the general term Vindhyāṭavī[24]. Yet the fact that Harṣa, alongwith Rājyaśrī and Divākarmitra, starting from the latter's hermitage reached in a few marches his camp stationed along the Gunges[25] as a hint, broad enough, to take the episode relating to the rescue of Rājyaśrī occurred some where in the area of our study.

Yet in our search of contemporary name for Bundelkhand, Bāṇa fails us with all his graphic and grandiloquent description whereas Huien Tsang, devoting hardly more than a para to the region, supplies us with one Chih-Chi-To or chi-Ki-To of the Chinese piligrim which has been taken by Cunningham[26] to stand for Bundelkhand. Smith supported it on the ground that the term is phonetically equivalent to Jijhoti[27], an epithet by which the Brāhmaṇas and Baniās of Bundelkhand still distinguish themselves,

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23. *Ibid.* R.B. Pandey.
24. *C.I.I.* Vol. III Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1963 no. 25 p. 113-14.
25. E.B. Cowell (Tr.) The *Harshacharita of Bāṇa.* Royal Asiatic Society Londoṇ 1897 p. 258.
26. *A.S.R. Vol.* 21 XXI p. 58.
27. *I.A.* XXXVIII 1908 p.p. 130-131.

whereas H. C. Ray[28] and N. S. Bose[29] rejected the view basing their opposition on the derivation of Jijhoti from Jejākabhuktia name given to Bundelkhand by the Chandella king Jejjā or jayasthakti, who ruled long after the departure of Huien Tsang from India. R. K. Dikshit also does not agree with Cunningham and believed that the distances given by the Chinese traveller do not suit the proposed identification[30]. Dr. Smith is firm on the unequivocal statement of the Mahoba stone inscription to the effect that there was a King Jejā by name, after whom Jejākabhukti was named just as this Prithvi after Pruthu[31].

Madanpur inscription of king Prithiviraj Chahmana refers to Chandella dominions with this very appellation[32]. In Bangla memorial stone inscriptions we have Jejahuti[33] whereas Narwar inscription of Yajvapat King Gopāla refers to the region as Jejākbhukti[34]. However, the naming of the Bundelkhand on the king Jejā does not figure anywhere except the Mahobā record of Kīrtivarman. Dr.K. K. Shah has defined the problem from a different angle. He opines that in all probability the word Jejjā is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Yajña' meaning sacrifice, which was the main feature of vedic religion. Knowledge and study of *Yajurveda* is basic to the performance of sacrifice. Barring an exception here or there we find that the majority of the Brāhmaṇas in Bundelkhand figuring in inscriptional records were students of

28. *Dynastic History of Northern India* Vol. II p. 670.
29. *History of the Chandellas,* K.L. Mukhopadhya, Calcutta 1956 p. 14.
30. *The Chandellas of Jejākabhukti,* Abhinav Publication New Delhi, 1977 p. 13.
31. *E.I.I.* No. 27 Vol. 10.
32. *A.S.R.* XXI Pt. II p. 174.
33. *E.I.* XXXI p. 323.
34. *E.I.* XXXIII No. 4L-10.

Yajurveda. Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta records that Indravishnu, a scholar ancestor of local Vishayapati, is mentioned as such and hailed as Brāhmaṇa sage studying Veda. Out of 309 donees in the semra plates of Parmardideva, 183 were followers of *Yajurveda, Yajurveda Charaṇa*[35], Dr. Shah quotes Nalinaksha Dutta that the Jajhoti has been derived from Yajurhota which is an observance of the 'Jajurveda'[36]. He finally advocates the probability of equiting Chih-Chi-To of the Chinese Piligrim Huein Tsang with modern Bundelkhand or its part.

In fact because of the political influences and changes, the region had various nomenclatures. In Chandella times, even when prince Jejjā had already named the region, we find one of his successors being referred to as Chitra-kuta Bhupāl by a contemporary neighbouring ruler.[37] In Muslim chronicles it is never called Jejakabhukti and they mostly named it after its capital Khajurāho[38]. The rākaṛ (red or yellow) soil between Jhansi and Lalitpur was the origin of yet another name ' Pītashaila-Vishaja' for this part of the province[39]. The fact of Vindhyas characterising the region resulted in yet another name Vindhyadesha[40]. Of all such names finding solitary mention by far the most interesting seems to be Yuddha desha[41] with clear reference to its river frontiers. It is rather difficult to make out its possible origin but we may surmise

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35. *E.I.* IV No. 20 p. 153 FF.

36. *Buddhist Sets in India,* Indological Book House Varanasi. 1977 p. 303, the name Jujhoti is known to *Skanda Purāṇa* also vide B.P. p. 2.

37. *R.K. Dikshit* OP. cit p. 37.

38. *Ibid.*p. 14 and 89.

39. *Ibid.* p. 10 note 3.

40. Ibid. p. 72

41. *Ibid.* p. 12 note-2 *Revāyamunayor-madhye Yuddhadesh ucyate.*

that it issued out of the situation in which Rāṣṭrakūṭa invaders fought their adversaries in the plains of Bundelkhand. Even when the battles came off elsewhere the route, generally taken by Rāṣṭrakūṭas, ran through Bundelkhand. Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja somewhere near Jhansi[42]. So also did Govinda III his adversary Nāgbhaṭṭa II. Indra III followed the Bhopal-Jhansi-Kalpi route. The march of Krishna III into Bundelkhand is also recorded. Thus in tripartite struggle, Bundelkhand was verily war-prone and war-worn, the fact being beautifully reflected in the name Yuddhadesha.

Thus the problem of nomenclature of Bundelkhand is multi-dimensional in relation to the modern time and concept. But cultural analysis of socio-political set up along with geographical factor reveals that the various names are given to the region under study in the resultants of multifacet ruling dynasties and geopolitical influences. In the hours of time the rituals, customs, language and the general population of the region brought abiding unity among its inhabitants. Out of those the medieval rulers namely the Bundellās were recognised most. Therefore, the region conceived more popular nomenclature of Bundelkhand.

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42. Dr. K. K. Shah, *Ancient Bundelkhand*, Gyan Publishing House Delhi, 1987 p. 6.

I would like to thank Dr. Kapil Dev Dwivedi, for his comments and suggestions made at different stages of writing the paper.

TRIVIKRAMA, NĪLAKAṆṬHA AND MUKUNDA
(Three Little-known Scholar-poets from Maharashtra)

Siddharth Yeshwant Wakankar
Baroda

Here is an attempt to bring to notice of scholars and researchers such an illustrious family wherein the father and his two sons were good poets and scholars too.

It has been a tradition in India that many a time, a family is known as a mine of scholars in a particular field, like Vyākaraṇa, Joyotiṣa, Dharmaśāstra etc. In fact, till the recent past, there were many families that were very famous because of the outstanding scholars born therein, who were equally good poets too.

The father composed two works, his elder son produced three and the younger one again produced two works-an original poem and a commentary on one of the works of his elder brother. The names of the three are : Trivikrama-the father-and Nīlakaṇṭha and Mukunda-the sons. From the information given by the sons in their works about their parents, it is clear that they were Kannadiga Brahmins (as their names would make us believe) and that they stayed either in Pune or somewhere near Pune in Maharashtra. Though both the works of Trivikrama are printed, one work of his son is printed and two are still waiting to see the light of the day, like the two works of the younger son and the present writer is trying his best to bring them to light for the first time. He has collected the

manuscripts of these works and hopes to finish the editions in near future. Herein is furnished the information about these scholars/poets and their works and possible dates.

Trivikrama :

Trivikrama (wife Pārvatī) of Puṇyagrāma (i.e. modern Pune in Maharashtra), son of Cidghanānandanātha and Anasūyā (or Veṅkammā or Keṅkammā) and father of Nīlakaṇṭha (author of *Yādavendramahodaya, Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha and Śaṅkarābhyudaya)* and Mukunda (author of *Caṇḍīdaṇḍaka* and *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabhasamīra)* has composed two works, viz. *Kuvalayāśvavilāsacampū* alias *Madālasācampū,* in six ullāsas, dealing with the story of King Nala. It is printed in the *Grantharatnamālā* No. 4, Bombay, 1890. The second work of Trivikrama is the longest and famous Bhāṇa in Sanskrit literature. viz. *Pañcāyudhaprapañcabhāṇa,* which was composed in 1805 A.D. Both these works begin and end with the same verses, as given under :

Beg : *Granthasya likhyamānasyāsyāntarā patatāṁ muhuḥ/*
Śāntyarthamantarāyāṇām śivām pañcamayīm numaḥ//

End : *Trivikramakṛtāmetām śītāṁśusahajāsakhaḥ/*
Trivikramaḥ kṛtim pāyādapāyādaghasaṁbhavāt//

In verse numbers 8 and 9 of his *Pañcāyudhaprapañcabhāṇa,* Trivikrama gives some details about the scholarship of his father as well as his own, in the following words :

Nyāyāmbhonidhimandaraḥ śrutiśiraḥ kāsārapāṭhīnarāṭ
Mīmāṁsātrimuniśrutaprakaṭitānalpātmadhīvaibhavaḥ/
Yaḥ sāhityakalāvilolanayanāmāṅgalyasūtram dṛḍham
So' yam tryambakapaṇḍito vijayate yasyāgrajaḥ sodaraḥ// 8//

Na kevalamagrajo, vidyāpradaśca/ (Sāścaryam) Kim brūtha? Kimayamanavadyasakalavidyānidhestryaṁbakavidvanmaṇeranujanmanā trivikrameṇa praṇīto bhāṇaḥ? Tarhi vidita evāyamasmākam/

Yatkāruṇyāt kavayituramuṣyāgrajaḥ khyātakīrtiḥ

Loke sārasvatajalanidheḥ pāradṛśvā babhūva/

So'yam vidyāguṇamaṇikhaniḥ sarvamantrātmamūrtiḥ

Tāto yasya tridaśadṛśaścidghanānandanāthaḥ // 9//

From these verses and the prose passages, it is very clear that both the brothers were well-versed in different sciences in Sanskrit.

Trivikrama specifically states at the beginning of this bhāṇa that it is being staged in the Puṇyapura, that is modern Pune in Maharashtra. Cf.

Bhagavataḥ śaṁbarariporvasantapūjāmahotsavaḥ parisarodyāne samārabdhaḥ puṇyapuravilāsibhiriti/Tadahamapi tatra gatvā kañcit samayam mano vinodayāmi/

At the end of this bhāṇa, the date and the place where this bhāṇa was staged are given in the following verses :

Ṛṣinayanācalaśaśimitaśakavarṣe (1727) *krodhanābhidhe śukre/*

Yātaḥ sitadvitīyāsuragurudina eṣa pūrṇatām bhāṇaḥ//

Jayati dhṛtapuṇḍracāpaścaraṇasarojānatākhilaśāpaḥ/

Puraharapuṇyavivartastrivikramāghaughajantusaṁvartaḥ//

It means that it was composed in Śaka 1727, corresponding to 1805 A.D., in Puṇyapura, that is modern Pune in Maharashtra.

Since both the works of Trivikrama are printed, I need not dilate on them here.

Now, we turn to the treatment of the two sons of Trivikrama, viz. Nīlakaṇṭha and Mukunda and their works.

Nīlakaṇṭha :

Nīlakaṇṭha has composed the following three works :

(1) *Yādavendramahodaya*-a mahākāvya in ten cantos describing the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa from his birth upto his marriage with Rukmiṇī.

(2) *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha*-campū in six taraṅgas, describing the life of the Great Ādi Śaṅkarācārya and

(3) Śaṅkarābhyudayakāvyam-a laghukāvya or a khaṇḍakāvya in six sargas, again describing the life of the Great Ādi Śaṅkarācārya.

About the second and the third compositions, a strange fact has come to my notice. One and the same author treats of one and the same subject-matter/theme/person, in two different poetic forms. It is still more baffling that neither of these two works refers to the other one, even remotely, although, the ending portions (i.e. the last verses) of the last chapters (*taraṅgas* and *sargas* respectively) of both the works mention the antecedents (i.e. parentage, gurus etc.) of both these authors (Nīlakaṇṭhas) which are exactly identical. It is really curious that no one, even indirectly, refers to the other one or the other work by name, though both are composed by one and the same Nīlakaṇṭha, as proved by this scholar. Is it a case of not disclosing one's identity-due to some in explicable reason, best known to the author himself? Not only that the last stanzas of these two works on Ādi Śaṅkarācārya are similar, but, some phrases and stanzas from the *Śaṅkarābhyudayakāvyam* are actually to be found verbatim in the *Yādavendramahodaya-mahākāvya* too-suggesting thereby that both the authors are one and the same, as is clear from the genealogical account that is available from all these three works-as will be found at the end of the last chapter of all these three works.

Fortunately, Nīlakaṇṭha is very particular in furnishing some

important information about himself, his parents, gurus-academic as well as spiritual-, names of his works towards the end of each of his works. These significant details are summarised here-under :

Trivikrama and Pārvatī were his parents, Cidghanānandanātha and Anasūyā alias Veṅkammā/Keṅkammā were his grand-parents, Tryambaka was his uncle. Nīlakaṇṭha studied Nyāya and Vyākaraṇa at the feet of his father and one more guru, named Gaṅgādhara and his spiritual preceptor was Nṛsiṁha Bhāratī Svāmī of the Śṛṅgerī Maṭha. From these details, the probable date of Nīlakaṇṭha could be fixed, as he specifically does not give any kind of information about his times. In this respect, we must have recourse to the external evidence, viz. the date of the composition and completion of the commentary of his *Yādavendramahodaya,* composed by Viṣṇu Śyāmarāya Rānaḍe and that of the *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha,* written by his younger brother Mukunda. These two enable us to fix the probable date of our author. Shri Viṣṇu Śyāmarāya Rānaḍe, the commentator of the *Yādavendramahodaya* and the scribe of the manuscripts of *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha,* gives the dates of the writing down of the two copies of *SMsaurabha* (Mss. Nos. 27147 and 27148, deposited in the Oriental Institute, Baroda) (Mss. Nos. 27147 and 27148, deposited in the Oriential Institute, Baroda) as under :

Idam pustakam rānaḍe-ityupanāmaka-śāmarāyāṅgajena viṣṇunā puṇyākhyapattane kaṣṭena sampāditam/Śake 1771 saumyābde pauṣamāsyasite dale daśamyām bhaumavāsare samāptim paphāṇa// and

Idam pustakam rānaḍe-ityupanāmnaḥ śāmarāyāṅgajasya viṣṇorasti/Śake 1771 pauṣe māsi kṛṣṇapakṣe trayodaśyāmasya granthasya lekhanam samāptam//

Shri Rānaḍe specifically mentions the date of the completion of his Ṭippaṇam on the *Yādavendramahodaya* in the following words :

Śake 1771 phālgunāsitadvādaśyām ravivāsare ṭippaṇam samāptam//

Śake 1771 corresponds to 1849 A.D.

It means that Nīlakaṇṭha must have composed his *Yādavendramahodaya* and *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha* before Śaka 1771, i.e. 1848-49 A.D. Thus, we may roughly say that he must have flourished in the early decades of the 19th century. This date can be corroborated by another evidence-of course-external. Prof. Dr. W. R. Antarkar, in his edition of the *Śaṅkarābhyudayakāvyam* of Nīlakaṇṭha, "based on a Devanāgarī copy of a solitary copy of the same printed in the Telugu characters in the South" and published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay,* September, 1964, Vol. XXXIII (New Series), Part, 2, Arts Number, No. 29, adduces on page no. 129, another important evidence for this date as follows : "At the end of the *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha*, the author salutes Deśikas called Śrīman Nṛsiṁhabhāratī and others, by which are to be understood Nṛsiṁha Bhāratī Svāmī and/or Saccidananda Śiva Abhinava Nṛsiṁha Bhāratī, for, after 1805 A.D., these two ācāryas only of the Śṛṅgerī Mutt bear the title Nṛsiṁha Bhāratī. According to the Śṛṅgerī Guru Paramparal, these two Ācāryas reigned between 1817 A.D. and 1879 A.D. and 1879-1912 A.D. respectively."

The fact that both the commentaries (on *Yādavendramahodaya* and *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha*) were composed/copied down in Śaka 1771, i.e. 1848-49 A.D., confirms this date of our author and suggests that both these works (*YM* and *SMS*)-as well as the *Śaṅkarābhyudayakāvya,* in the absence of any contradictory evidence-must have been composed by the forties of the 19th century, much before the outbreak of the First War of Independence in 1857 A.D.

Mukunda :

Mukunda, the younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha, composed two Sanskrit works, viz. *Caṇḍīdaṇḍaka*-a praise of Caṇḍī couched in the Daṇḍaka metre and a commentary, named *Samīra*, on the *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabhacampū* of his elder brother Nīlakaṇṭha.

In the last verse as well as in the colophons to both these works, he gives some biographical information, but, does not give any clue to his date or times. Fortunately, Rāma, the scribe of the Caṇḍīdaṇḍaka, furnishes the date of the copying down of the Daṇḍaka as Śālivāhana Śaka 1765, corresponding to 1843 A.D. The relevant portions are reproduced from the unpublished manuscripts of both these works.

Bālājīti ca yam prāhuḥ mukunda iti yam jaguḥ/
Caṇḍapuṣṭiprayāsākhyo daṇḍakastena nirmitaḥ//

Colophon : *Iti śrītrivikramasūrisūnoḥ pārvatīgarbhasaṁbhavasya mukundasya kṛtau caṇḍīdaṇḍakassamāptaḥ//*

The scribe adds : *Śrīśālivāhanaśake 1765 śobhakṛtvatsarajyeṣṭha vadya (śuddha) pratipadi likhito 'yam rāmeṇa daṇḍakaḥ//*

The end of the *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabhasamīra* runs like :

Jātāttrivikramaguroḥ sambhūto yo mukundaśabdaguṇāt/
Ākalpāntam caratāt śaṇkaramandārasaurabhasamīraḥ//

Colophon : *Iti śrīmattrivikramavidvanmaṇisūnoḥ pārvatyambātanayasya nīlakaṇṭhānujasya mukundasya kṛtau śaṅkaramandārasaurabha-samīre ṣaṣṭhastaraṅgaḥ/ Sampūrṇaścāyam granthaḥ//*

From the above discussion regarding the probable dates (that is age) of the manuscripts, it is clear that the *Yādavendramahodaya* and *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha* were composed by Nīlakaṇṭha in the early forties or late thirties of the 19th century and immediately commentaries were written on them-thereby suggesting that the

works must have been very popular at his time. Or at least they had some recognition in the scholarly circule as far as their poetic compositions were concerned. It is just possible that they were popular in a very limited field/area/circle or pāṭhaśālā-thereby inducing someone to write a Ṭippaṇa or a commentary to keep the works in currency. It is a matter of wonder that despite this help offered by the commentators, these works did not attract due attention of the scholars till this day and the present author has the full satisfcation of bringing these to the light of the day. I may add a personal note here : I have prepared a complete press-copy of the *Yādavendramahodayakāvyam* with the *Ṭippaṇī* of V.S. Ranade-based on two unpublished Mss. of the original and one ms. of the *Ṭippaṇam.* It is awaiting the light of the day. I have also started preparing the press-copy-A Critical Edition like that of the YM-based on some 4/5 unpublished manuscripts of the *SMSS* too.

I conclude this short paper by requesting the scholars to kindly supply me any other information than the one presented herein, so that it can be used while critically bringing out the editions of these rare and little-known works of high poetic value.[1]

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1. For the benefit of the scholars, the original Sanskrit quotations with English transliteration has been given in this paper (for the convenience of the printers who may go in for mono-type printing).

SOME SCRIBAL ERRORS IN THE NARASIṂHA PURĀṆA

Dr. S. Jena
Bhubaneswar

Dr. Jena in this paper has, after a painstaking discussion, concluded that the author of Kṛtyakalpataru *(K. K.)*, while quoting from *Narasiṃha Purāṇa (N.P.)* in his *Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍa* (Vol. 8), had before him a different and more correct version of N.P. and that the printed text of *N.P.* available to us contains several mistakes which have crept therein due to careless writings of later scribes or copyists.

In the days of yore, the scribes used to make copies of writings for the dissemination of knowledge. In the absence of paper and printing machine it was an arduous job and the scribes were taking utmost pains for preparing the hand-written manuscripts on the palm-leaves. So far as a particular text was concerned, only 4 to 5 manuscripts were prepared with difficulty and the people were required to use them with care and caution. At the time of making a copy of a manuscript it was sometimes seen that the scribe was in the habit of replacing some words, adding or dropping verses or altering some of them as per his whim or choice. Sometimes the scribble or the very fast and careless hand-writing of certain scribes resulted in the total change of meanings at some places. And consequently, the second manuscript came to be different, to some extent, from the first manuscript from which it was copied; and in

case of a greater difference between the two manuscripts belonging to two different regions copied from the same source, it gave rise to two different recensions of the same text. Referring to the then conditions of Ancient Indian Aryan society Max Müller remarks that at that time "the texts of the Veda as they existed and lived in the oral tradition of various sets of people, became *Śākhās* (recensions) differing from other *Śākhās* somewhat in the same way as the MSS of the New Testament differ from each other".[1]

Here it may not be out of place if we take into consideration the view of an eninent Purāṇic scholar like Dr. Ashoke Chatterjee. He is of opinion that even the sectarian interest and enthusiasm was greatly responsible for the change of the text from one place to the other. (*Padma Purāṇa-A Study"* p. 21, he gives a clearcut example that "the zealous and repeated interference of the various sectaries especially the Vaiṣṇavas, with the text of the *Padma Purāṇa* in different climes and ages made this work have considerable textual difference in different parts of India and in course of time gave rise to two distinct recensions viz., Bengal and Devanāgarī". Likewise Rūpa Gosvāmin while citing verses from older well-known authors like Subandhu, Bhavabhūti, Amaru, Rudraṭa or Kṣemendra, as S. K. De has shown, had a tendency "to Vaiṣṇavise older verses which were ordinarily non-Vaiṣṇava by making free textual changes or by placing such verses in a Vaiṣṇavite context".[2] Thus the word *Daivāya* was deliberately altered into *kṛṣṇāya, rāma-nāma* into *kṛṣṇa-nāma,* sundara into *mādhava, kānta* into *kṛṣṇa* and so on. As Prof. De rightly observes, "These and other instances of deliberate alteration in the phrasing of old verses of Amaru, Rudraṭa and others will show that the devout Vaiṣṇava compiler (Rūpa Gosvāmin) had no hesitation in modifying and making such non-sectarian verses

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1. F. Max Müller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature,* p. 106.
2. S. K. De, *The Padyāvalī*, Intro., CXII.

applicable to a sectarian purpose."[3] There are many such instances; we need not multiply them.

At the time of copying out from a manuscript what happened generally is that sometimes a less talented scribe in an effort to alter a word replaced the same with such type of expression that either it did not fit there or the meaning altogether underwent a change. Sometimes due to the carelessness of the scribe the words that were inserted, were very misleading and harmful to the society. The insertion of such words in the authoritative religious texts admitted to various interpretations at the hands of different scholars and in consequence, the things came to such a pass that the people at large suffered from its disastrous effects. The most glaring instance to be cited in this connection is *satīdāhaprathā* or the practice of self-immolation of *satīs*. History records the horror as to how thousands and thousands of Hindu widows, under the pretext of scriptural instruction and religious tradition, were ruthlessly consigned to flames and even the early British rulers dared not violate this practice. Truly speaking, this ugly and reprehensible practice came into vogue due to the careless writing of a scribe or copyist, otherwise it has not any strong or forceful scriptural sanction behind it. In the *Ṛgveda* X. 18.7-8 after the death of the husband, the wife is desired to decorate herself with jewels and move ahead first (*agre*) to the funeral pyre wherefrom the younger brother of her husband, before the fire is ignited there, would cause her to rise from the place, persuade her to come back to the worldly life and get united with him.[4] The Sanskrit word for first is *agre* (अग्रे), but due to scribal mistake it has been made to read agne (अग्ने) meaning fire. To change अग्रे into अग्ने, one may imagine, is very easy at the hands of

3. For details see, *Ibid.*

4. For detailed discussion on *Ṛgveda* X. 18.7-8 vide K.F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, p.p. 152-153.

a scribe. And the occurrence of this simple mistake in the *Ṛgveda,* the most ancient authoritative religious text as it is, resulted in the worst heinous reprehensible custom like *satī* which the so-called Brahmins and the priestly class came forward to support unscrupulously and insisted upon the continuance of this barbarous practice thoughtlessly. From the above instance, we understand how a casual mistake in the *Ṛgveda*[5] brought about the death of countless innocent Hindu widows of this country.

The printed text of the *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* as available at present is a Viṣṇuite Upa-purāṇa datable to the middle of 13th century A.D. The Chapter 65 of this Upa-purāṇa describes various forms and abodes of Viṣṇu. In my work *"The Narasiṃha Purāṇa - A Study"* in course of dealing with this chapter and presenting a comparative study of *tīrthas* in the *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* and other Purāṇa texts, I have pointed out that apart from sixty old well known *tīrthas*, the redactor of *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* refers to twenty one new *tīrthas.*[6] These twenty one *tīrthas* are never found out in the older Purāṇa texts and as such they occur in the *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* for the first time. But a further comparison of Chapter 65 of the *Narasiṃha text* with *Kṛtyakalpataru* Vol. VIII, pp. 251-253 reveals the matter to be otherwise and offers us an interesting study in the present case.

Kṛtyakalpataru consisting of 14 *kāṇḍas* is an extensive digest of Lakṣmīdhara. Kane has fixed up its date between 1125 to 1145 A.D.[7] The eighth *kāṇḍa* of this digest is known as

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5. Scholars like Prof. Max Müller, Dr. Radhakrishnan and R.C. Datta fully agree that *RV.* X. 18.7 can, in no way, be interpreted in support of the *Satī* custom. For detailed discussion see Svāmī Abhedānanda, *Hindū Nārī*, p.p. 119-126.

6. S. Jena. *Narasiṃha Purāṇa : A Study*, p. 253.

7. *P. V.. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. I, Part II, p. 677.

Tīrthavivecana kāṇḍa and in course of dealing with the *tīrthas,* this *kāṇḍa* quotes some 29 verses from Chapter 65 of the *Narasiṃha Purāṇa*. Though there is much verbal similarity between Chapter 65 of the printed *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* and the Narasiṃha text as quoted by Lakṣmīdhara in *Kṛtyakalpataru* Vol. VIII, pp. 251-253, yet some subtle points of difference come to our notice. They are all mistakes commited by the scribe in course of copying out from a common source and as such they offer us scope for a keen and clear-cut analysis on the subject.

Ch. 65. II of the printed *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* reads as follows :

कुब्जागारे हृषीकेशं गन्धद्वारे पयोधरम्
गरुडध्वजं तु सकले गोविन्दं नाम सायके ॥

It means that in the sacred spot 'Kubjāgāra' there is worshipped the image of Hṛṣīkeśa, in 'Gandhadvāra that of Payodhara, in the spot 'Sakala' that of Garuḍadhvaja and in 'Sāyaka' that of Govinda. But these four sacred spots namely Kubjāgāra, Gandhadvāra, Sakala and Sāyaka are nowhere found and they are not referred to in any older texts. On the other side, when we have a close look at its counterpart in *K. K.* Vol. VIII, pp. 251-253, we see that the text is not only different but also the readings therein, are comparatively appropriate and correct. The corresponding text from *K. K.* Vol. VIII, p. 252 is as follows :

कुब्जाम्रके हृषीकेशं गङ्गाद्वारे पयोधरम्
गरुडध्वजं तोषलके गोविन्दं नागसाह्वये

As a place of pilgrimage 'Kubjāmraka' nas been referred to in *Matsya* (22.66), *Kūrma* (II. 20.33) and *Garuḍa* (I. 81.10). All these texts take it to be a famous place for offering *śrāddha.* The *Vāmana* (63.3) too refers to it. Alluding to the penance of sage Raibhya, the *Varāha Purāṇa* (125.7-12) narrates the story as to why the place is so called. The source of river Ganges is called

'Gaṅgādvāra'. It is otherwise known as 'Haradvāra' (*Kūrma*, II. 20.33)[8] or 'Māyātīrtha' (*Varāha*, 125.32). *Kūrma*, I. 14.41. further says that Lord Śiva ordered Vīrabhadra to destroy the sacrifice of Dakṣa at this place. Though *Matsya* 22.10 mentions Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpurī as two separate *tīrthas* in the same verse, Gaṅgādvāra, Māyāpurī or Haradvāra point out to the same place,[9] and the manes are immensely pleased in *Śrādhha* if performed here. As pointed out by the eminent historian Prof. D.C. Sircar, Toṣāli i.e., modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in the Puri district of Orissa (now in Khurda district after the division of the State of Orissa into 30 districts) was the Capital of the territory of Kaliṅga which was conquered by Aśoka in his ninth regnal year.[10] Panigrahi has shown that the Dhauli hill and the ancient Śiśupālagarh at a distance of 3 miles where there are still ruins of a well-planned and well-fortified city, together constituted the city of Toṣāli[11] of the Aśokan days. In his opinion. Toṣala, Toṣali and Toṣāli were identical.[12] It is in this Toṣala or Toṣalaka that the image of Garuḍadhvaja-Viṣṇu continued to be worshipped from very olden times. And as such the reading सोषलके available from *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa of K.K.*, p. 252 is the most appropriate one whereas the reading तु सकले in the printed text of the *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* is entirely defective and erroneous. It seems that it has occurred there due to the careless writing of a scribe or copyist. There is no doubt about the fact that like अग्रे becoming अग्ने by mistake, तोषलके has turned into तु सकले through

8. Vide *Kūrma Purāṇa* (Text with translation), p. 399.
9. Vide P.V., Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, notes on Haridvara, p. 755; notes on Māyāpurī, p. 781.
10. D.C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Introduction, p. 16.
11. For detailed discussion on it see K.C., Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Ch. X, pp. 178-181.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

separation of syllables at first stage (तो पलके) and displacement of sounds at the next stage तो पलके = तो षकले = तु सकले). Similarly the word सायके occurring in the last half of the verse II. Ch. 65 of the *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* conveys no meaning at all. Kane has pointed out that the printed text 'Govindaṃnāma sāyake' is corrupt and it should be 'Nāgasāhvaye'.[13] As he has rightly ascertained, Nāgasāhvaya is Hastināpura on the right bank of the river Ganges and 22 miles to the north-east of Meerut. *The Matsya* (50. 78) refers to it.

Other instances of this nature found in the printed text of the *Narasiṃha Purāṇa,* Ch. 65 are : विश्वासयूपे विश्वेशम् 65. 14b and भाण्डारे वासुदेवं तु-65.20a whose correct readings are stated to be विशाखयूपे विश्वेशम् and भाण्डीरे[१४] वासुदेवं च respectively in the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* of *K.K.* In my work "*Narasimha Purāṇa- A Study*"[15] I have already discussed that Viśākhayūpa as a sacred place is alluded to in the texts like *Mahābhārata* (III. 88.12, 174, 16-17) and *Vāmana* (63.6). Likewise Bhāṇḍīra is one of the twelve famous forests in Mathurā. It has been highly spoken of in *Varāha* (151.46-47) and *Nāradīya* (II. 79.17). One may very wellguess there that due to the hasty and careless writing of the scribe विशाखयूपे has appeared to be विश्वासयूपे and भाण्डीरे as भाण्डारे coveying no sense at all.

The printed text of *Narasiṃha Purāṇa,* Ch. 65.15 first half reads हलाङ्गरे रिपुहरम् but the word 'Halāṅgara' is nowhere referred to as a sacred place. *K.K.* Vol. VIII *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* seems to preserve its correct reading—"लोहार्गले रिपुहरम्" for Lohārgala is a famous holy place of Lord Viṣṇu. As pointed out by Kane, it is a

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13. P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV., Notes on Nāgasāhvaya, p. 783.

14. In *K. K. Vol. VIII (Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍa),* p. 252 the word is, however, misspelt as भाण्डिर

15. S. Jena, *The Narasimha Purāṇa-A Study,* p. 263.

famous Viṣṇuite spot inside the great Ḥimalayan range.[16] The *Varāha Purāṇa* gives a glorious account of this *tīrtha*. It is a place resorted to by the Mleccha kings गिरिराजशिलातले, स्थानं लोहार्गलं नाम म्लेच्छराजैः समावृतम् *Varāha,* 140.5). The sage Saṅkalāyana is said to have continued penance for one thousand years at this place with the desire of getting a son resembling Lord Śiva (*Varāha,* 144, 12). Besides, since this place is barred with an iron bar, it assumes the name 'Lohārgala'. Demons were wandering about this place and they were causing much obstructions and harassment to the gods as well as the devotees of Viṣṇu. As a result Lord Viṣṇu kept the divinities and all the heaven-dwellers safe behind an iron bar and slew the demons with his mighty discus. And this is how the place, thereafter, came to be known as Lohārgala, most sacred for the Viṣṇuits (*Varāha, 149.7-14).*

Now, from the foregoing discussions, conclusively we may say that Lakṣmīdhara, the author of *K.K., Vol. Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* had before him in the first half of 12th century rather a correct version of the *Narasiṃha Purāṇa* from which he took up the necessary verses for his vast compilation. And due to the insincere and careless writings of the later scribes or copyists, the aforesaid mistakes have crept into the printed text of *Narasiṃha* available at present.

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16. P.V. Kane, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, notes on Lohārgala, P. 774.

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RIDDLES IN THE ṚGVEDA 8. 29

S. K. Lal

Pune

The purpose of this paper is to point out such epithets, characteristic features and functions, and conspicuous traits of divinities, that had become almost a 'trade-mark' for a particular divinity fashioned by Vedic Ṛṣi-poets in their poetic creations, and understood as such by Vedic people at large. Such epithets fairly clearly portray the character, function, and feature of a divinity that unmistakably point to a certain definite deity. It also enabled the Ṛṣi-poets to do away with the proper names and, instead, to address the divinity only by the attributes or epithets.

The hymn 8.29 has been addressed to the Viśvedevāḥ. A Vaiśvadeva hymn has been defined as :

Stūyante devatā hyāsu
karmabhiḥ svaiḥ pṛthak pṛthak / 69
stutāḥ karmaguṇaiḥ svaiḥ svair
devatā yatra yatra tu /
pṛthak karma.stutir nāma
vaiśvadevaṁ tadaiva tu // 70 //

Bṛhaddevatā 6.69-70

There are two types of hymns dealing with the Viśvedevāḥ, namely, entire hymns, and partial hymns.[1] In the partial hymns,

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1. There are certain hymns which, though, they deal with several divinities, do not get the appellation Viśvedevāḥ. For instance :
ṚV 2.31 is a Viśvedevāḥ hymn, but the hymn immediately following it

there are certain mantras only that deal with the Viśvedevāḥ, either as a group of divinities conjointly, or separately. Certain hymns, entire or partial, deal with the Viśvedevāḥ as a one single entity.[2] A list of hymns dealing entirely or partially with the Viśvedevāḥ has been appended below (see Appendix).

Besides these hymns, there are certain other hymns or verses where the devatā is not clear. For instance :

ṚV. 1.121- Indra or Viśvedevāḥ (acc. to *Sarvānukramaṇī*)

ṚV. 3.8.8- Viśvedevāḥ or Ṛtvijs (acc. to the Vālakhilya-sūkta-bhāṣya as found in the VSM edn. The *Sarvānukramaṇī* and the *Bṛhaddevatā* are silent).

ṚV 9.67.27- Agni (acc. to *Bṛhaddevatā*); Viśvedevāḥ (acc. to Sarvā.).

ṚV10.62.1-6- Viśvedevāḥ (acc.to *Sarvā.*); Aṅgiras (acc. to *Bṛhaddevatā*).

(2.32) deals with many divinities (*bahudevatākaṁ sūktam)* such as Dyāvā pṛthivī, Indra, Tvaṣṭṛ, Rākā, Sinīvālī, and Guṅgu.

Similarly four hymns (8.27-30) are Vaiśvadeva hymns, but the following hymn (8.31) deals with various deities (*bahudevatākaṁ sūktam)* Such as, Yajña, Yajamāna, and Daṁpatī :

ṚV 10.98 has been designated as an All-gods hymn (*sarvadevatākaṁ Sūktam)* where the deities are Bṛhaspati, and Agni. This hymn contains the legend of Devāpī and Śantanu (cf. *Bṛhaddevatā* 7.155-157, and 8.1.-9).

For a general study of 8.29, see P. Peterson, *Second Selection of Hymns from the Ṛgveda,* BORI, Pune, 1972; and L. Renou *Etudes védiques et pāṇineennes,* Vols. IV & V, Publications de l'institute de civilization indienne, Paris.

2. *ṚV.* 1.3.7-9; 23.10.12; 164.1-41; 2.41.13-15; 5.26.9; 6.21.9; 11; 7.50.3; 8.30; 69.11; 10.33.1; 62.7; 63. 1-14; 17; 155.5.

ṚV 10.109- Viśvedevāḥ (acc. to Sarvā.); Ṛtvijs (acc. to *Bṛhaddevatā*).

The *Ṛgveda* 8.29 is a peculiar hymn. It is fashioned as a Brahmodya. It deals with the Viśvedevāḥ where the divinities are separately dealt with, in each Ṛk, as distinct gods, but without mentioning them by their names. One has to find out the divinity of each Ṛk by the epithets and attributes used in this hymn, or elsewhere in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*.

There are nine divinities addressed in the nine verses of the present hymn. The 10th verse is problematic. The divinities in the serial order of the verses are : Soma, Agni, Tvaṣṭṛ, Indra, Rudra, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Aśvins, and Mitrāvaruṇau.

As pointed out earlier, none of these divinities has been mentioned by name. Hence, it becomes imperative to study the salient features of these divinities, which formed almost a convention.

It may be pointed out at the outset that almost all scholars, Indian and Western, agree on the identification of the divinities in this hymn, barring a few dissenting notes like that of Grassmann. Now we study each verse individually :

Verse No. 1

babhrureko viṣuṇaḥ sūnaro yuvāñjyaṅkte hiraṇyayam.

Four words have to be marked in this verse : *babhru, viṣuṇaḥ, sūnaraḥ,* and *yuvā.*

The term *babhru* has been used in the *Ṛgveda* in two senses, as a substantive, and as an adjective. As a substantive (5.30.14), it is the name of a Ṛṣi, the seer of that hymn. In the 11th verse of the same hymn, the word *babhrudhūtāḥ* means the juices of Soma purified by the Ṛṣi Babhru. In 8.22.10, the Aśvins are said to have helped the king Babhru along with kings Paktha and Adhrigu. In its

adjectival usages, (meaning 'tawny', 'reddish brown', Hindi *'bhūrā')*, it has been used three times as an epithet of Rudra. In 2.33.5; 9, Rudra has been regarded as *babhru;* in vs. 15 he has been addressed as *babhro;* and in vs. 8, the Ṛṣi-poet utters a mighty hymn of prayers for him. Once (7.44.3) the word signifies the brown colour of the horse of Varuṇa (which is the sun according to Griffith). Elsewhere (4.32.22-24), the dual *babhrū* signifies tawny coloured horses of Indra. In 10.34.1, the adjective *babhrūn* qualifies the substantive *aśvān,* and the two words together mean *akṣān* (pieces of dice, for which nuts of vibhītaka or vibhīdaka tree were used). They were of brown colour, for in 10.34.5 *babhravaḥ* means *babhruvarṇāḥ akṣāḥ*. Similarly, in the verse 14, the words *babhrūṇām prasitau* means "in the snare of dice-pieces" (*babhrūṇām aksāṇāṁ prasitau)*. But in 10.97.1, *babhrūṇām* means *babhruvarṇānāṁ somādyoṣadhīnām,* and Agni is said to go down in the brown (plants-*babhruṣu)* as if adorning them (with his blazing lustre) (*ṚV* 1.140.6).

Another word, often used for the colour of Soma is *hari.* In *ṚV* 9.98.7, the term *babhrum* has been used in juxtaposition of *harim,* both of them qualify *tyam* (i.e.*tam somam), (pari tyaṁ haryataṁ hariṁ babhruṁ punanti vāreṇa)*. [3] ŚBr. 7.2.4.26 appositely says *somo vai babhruḥ.* It shows that the adjective *babhru* became fixed for Soma. Hence, in 8.29.1, the word *babhru* signifies Soma, though not mentioned.

The second word is *viṣuṇah* meaning 'diverse form' (from the root *viṣu,* 9th Kravyādi class, 'the separate', disjoin'). In the present verse, the term applies to an object which attains different forms. As 3.54.8, the word is again used in the sense of 'diverse form' (*viśvamekaṁ carat patatri viṣuṇam vi jātam)*. At 7.21.5,

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3. Cf. also 9.31.5; 107.19, 20 where Soma has been directly addressed as *babhro, indo,* and *Soma.*

viṣuṇasya jantoḥ means "people of different nature". In the present verse, what is that, that is of different forms? Before we attempt an answer, let us turn to the next word *sūnaraḥ*.

Soma is *sūnaraḥ,* a handsome youth. The word *sūnaraḥ* (masc.) occurs elsewhere only once where Agni is regarded as a handsome man, the son of strength (*sahasaḥ sūnaraḥ* : ṚV 10.115.7); otherwise its feminine form *sūnarī* has been used a few times for Uṣas (*ṚV* 1.48.5;8;4.52.1;7.81.1; *sūnari ṚV* 1. 48.10). It has been used thrice as an adjective qualifying the word *vasu* (*sūnaraṁ vasu :* 1.40,4; 5.34.7).

The fourth word *yuvā* occurs only twice in connection with Soma. In the present Ṛk, the young Soma is said to decorate himself with ornaments. In the second occurrence, *yuvā* is Soma juice, which, after having been pressed, is being mixed with milk, an act which is metaphorically likened, as if he is being adorned, by the daughters (or grand daughters) of the priest, namely, the fingers (*ṚV* 9.14.5). Otherwise *yuvā* is Agni ten times,[4] Indra nine times,[5] Viṣṇu once (1.155.6), Sūrya once (5.45.9). Savitṛ once (6.71.1), and the Maruts thrice (1,87,4; 5.60.5 61.13). Soma as decorating himself is found in other places also. In 9.34.4, tawny (*hariḥ*) Soma is decked with tints (*saṁ rūpairajyate hariḥ)*; at 9.81.1, the waves of Soma have been regarded as beautiful (*pra somasya pavamānasyormayaḥ indrasya yanti jaṭharaṁ supeśasaḥ*). The imagery of mixing of Soma-juice with milk is regarded as decking Soma.

The pāda *yuvāñjyaṅkte hiraṇyayam* occurs only here and exclusively with regard to Soma. The expression *añji aṅkte* occurs only twice in other places in the *Ṛgveda.* At 1.124.8, it is for Uṣas

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4. *ṚV.* 1,12,6; 144.4; 2.4.5; 23.1; 4.1.12; 5.1.6; 44.3; 7.15.2; 8. 102.1; 10.46.3.
5. *ṚV.* 1.11.4; 2.20.3;6.45.1; 7.20.1; 8.21.2; 45.1-3; 64.7.

who decks herself with sun-beams, like women going to a festive meeting. In another place (5.1.3), it is Agni who is said to illuminate (the world) by his bright rays.

Looking at the four epithets for Soma in the present Ṛk, this Ṛk may be regarded as a very good example of the apotheosis of Soma as juice to Soma as a divinity 'identified with the moon'. In this connection, the word *indu* is significant. In the *Ṛgveda*, this word has twofold meaning 1. purified (bright) Soma drop, and 2. the lustrous drop in the sky, i.e., the moon.[6]

Further, the Ṛk 8.29.1 may be divided into two parts which deal with two different aspects of Soma, viz., 1.as pressed, filtered, and purified juice, and 2. as the moon in the sky.

A significant word in the Ṛk is *ekaḥ* which bifurcates the whole Rk into two parts.[7] As it has been shown earlier, the term *babhru* has been used in two senses, as a substantive and as an adjective, a qualifier. Although the substantive has been omitted, the term *babhru* must refer to Soma due to the force of the word *ekaḥ* and due to the second part of the Ṛk, viz. *viṣuṇah sūnaro yuvāñjyaṅkte hiraṇyayam.* It would then mean that between the two aspects of Soma, one is of tawny colour. This would obviously refer to the pressed, but unpurified and unmixed (with milk) Soma juice which is *babhru* in colour.

The second part of the Ṛk taken together would refer to

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6. Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology*, rep. Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1974; pp. 112-113; *Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie*, (Eng. tr. by S. R. Sarma, Motilal Banarasidass, delhi, 1980), Vol. I, 309f; vol. II, 209-45); and Sūryā-sūkta (*ṚV.* 10.85) vs. 5 where twofold nature of Soma has been clearly mentioned.

7. Although the numeral *ekaḥ* has been used in each of the Ṛk of this hymn (except the 10th one where it is *eke*, masc. plural), it serves a dual purpose in the present Ṛk.

Soma as the moon. Here the words *viṣuṇah, sūnaraḥ* and *yuvā* do not help much (they have been used for other divinities also as shown earlier), but *añjyaṅkte hiraṇyayam* definitely points to Soma as the moon. Again, as shown earlier, *añjyaṅkte* occurs only thrice, namely, in the present Ṛk and elsewhere in other two Ṛks. For instance, in 1,124,8, it is Uṣas who decks herself, but she decks with the rays of the sun (*sūryasya raśmibhiḥ añjyaṅkte).* In the second occurrence (5.1.3), it is Agni who is said to deck or illuminate the world with his rays. In the present Ṛk, the divinity decks itself with golden ornaments (*hiraṇyayam añji)* which is exclusive to Soma, and which unmistakably refers to a natural phenomenon, the starry moon night where the moon would appear as if adorning himself with golden ornaments, namely, the stars. On the strength of this, the other three words *viṣuṇah, sūnaraḥ* and *yuvā,* though they refer to other divinities also, would explicitly refer to Soma as the moon. This must have been the ground for Śaunaka (*Bṛhaddevatā* 6.69-72), Kātyāyana *(Sarvānukramaṇī)* and Sāyaṇa *(Bhāṣya),* etc. to assign this mantra to Soma on the force of the epithets used in this Ṛk.[8]

Verse No. 2

yonim eka ā sasād dyotano' ntardeveṣu medhiraḥ .

In the second Ṛk, three words are significant; *yonim, dyotanaḥ,* and *medhiraḥ.* Besides this Ṛk, the term *dyotana* occurs in four other places. In 1.123.4, *dyotanā* (fem.) qualifies *ahanā* which is Uṣā (*Nighaṇṭu* 1.9.11). In 3,58.1, Uṣas is said to bring refulgence (*dyotanim*) with her brilliant chariot. At 10.177.2, the word *dyotamānām* qualifies *vācam*. In one place, 6.20.8, *dyotana* is

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8. Hence Grassmann's opinion that the present Ṛk refers to Agni is incorrect (*Rig-veda, übersetzt mit kritischen und erläuternden Ammerkungen versehen,* 1876, on the Ṛk.

a proper noun, name of a king. In the present Ṛk, the epithet *dyotanaḥ* has been used without the substantive (8.29.2). The bright and luminous nature of Agni has often been emphasized. In ṚV 3.5.7, Agni is regarded as a resplendent deity.[9] The second word is *medhira*. This word has been used in its literal sense of 'wise', 'intelligent', 'prudent', etc. for people in general. The term *medhirāḥ* in 1.11.7, 8.38.9, 42.6 qualifies the term *janāḥ* mentioned therein. In 7.87.4, *medhirāsaḥ* are the *yajamānāḥ*. In 10.89.10, *medhirāṇām* means *prajñānām*. Among the gods, it has been once used for Varuṇa (1.25.20); twice for Indra (6.42.3 1.161.4); and once for Soma.

The term *medhira* has been used eight times for Agni. In 3.21.4, Agni (mentioned by name) has been addressed as *medhira*. Similarly in 1.31.2, Agni (mentioned by name) has been regarded as *medhira*.[10] It occurs once for Varuṇa (1.25.20); once for Soma 9.68.4; and twice for Indra (6.42.3; 1.61.4).

Another significant expression about Agni in this Ṛk is *yonim ā sasāda*. There are two divinities whose *yoni* (meaning 'place', 'substratum') has been frequently mentioned, namely, Agni and Somac in the majority of occurrences. The word *yoni* and its other formations have been used about 19 times for Agni.[11] The *yoni* of Agni is *Vedi* (1.140.1 *vediṣad),* or *ghṛta* (3.5.7; *ā yonimagnirghṛtavantam).* In 6.15.16, the *yoni* of 'Agni is regarded as *kulāyinam* (like a nest), *ghṛtavantam* (bedewed with *ghṛta*), and *ūrṇāvantam* (full of wool), obviously referring to the *vedī*. His *yoni*

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9. By far the most frequent word, describing Agni's luminosity is the word *śuci*. In a large number of its occurrences, it is an attribute of Agni (1.66.1; 2.1.1; 3.5.7; 4.1.7; 5.1.3; 6.8.1; 7.3.9; 8.44.21; etc.

10. Cf. other occurrences 1. 105.14; 127.7; 142.11; 3.13; 10.100.6.

11. 1.15.4; 140.1; 2.3.11; 9.3; 36.4; 3.1.7; 5.7; 29.10; 4.1.11; 3.2; 5.21.4; 6.15.16; 16.35; 41; 7.3.5; 4.5; 8.29.2; 10.8.3; 91.4.

has been prepared by the gods (7.4.5 *ā yo yonim̐ devakṛtam̐ sasāda*). In 6.16.41, Agni is requested to come and sit in his *yoni (ā sve yonau ni ṣīdatu)*. His three *yonīs* have also been mentioned. In 2.36.4, the Ṛṣi-poet calls upon Agni to bring the gods, and himself sit on the three *yonis* (acc. to Sāyaṇa-Gārhapatya, Dakṣiṇāgni and Āhavanīya). A similar expression is found in 1.15.4 where Agni is earnestly asked to bring the gods and make them sit in the three *yoniṣu (agne devān ihā vaha sādayā yoniṣu triṣu)*. Most importantly, in 2.9.3, three places of Agni have been oppositely mentioned, 1. *parame janman* (i.e. *dyaus*), 2. *avare sadhasthe (antarikṣaloka)*, and 3. *yoneḥ (pṛthivīlokāt)* where he is produced and from where he shoots up.

The expression in our verse *yonim ā sasāda* is anologous to the expression *"ā yo yonim̐ sasāda"* (ṚV. 7.4.5).

Therefore, on the strength of the epithets *yonim, dyotanaḥ,* and *medhiraḥ,* the second verse in our hymn refers to Agni. *Grassmann's* opinion that the verse points to Bṛhaspati is not correct.

Verse No. 3

Vāśīm eko bibharti hasta āyasīm antardeveṣu nidhruviḥ-

In the third Ṛk, two words are significant, *vāśī* and *nidhruviḥ*. The word *nidhruviḥ* (meaning 'true', 'constant' (*Grassmann),* 'durable', 'untiring' (Geldner). and 'strenuous' (Macdonell) occurs thrice in the *Ṛgveda.* Once for Agni. In 7.3.1, it is said that Agni is firm amongst mortals (*yaḥ martyeṣu nīdhruviḥ)* and once for the Maruts (8.20.22). In the present verse, the word *nidhruvi* has been used without mentioning the deity. More significant is the word *vāśī.* In *ṚV* 10.53.9, Tvaṣṭṛ has been described as the most deft of workmen (*apasām apastamaḥ)* who sharpens a metallic axe for Brahmaṇaspati.

Tvaṣṭṛ is the divine artificer. Hence this Rk refers to Tvastr. [12]

Verse No. 4

Vajram eko bibharti hasta āhitaṁ tena vṛtrāṇi jighnate.

Two words *vajram* and *vṛtrāṇi* are to be noted in this verse. It is of course clear, on the strength of these two words, that the verse refers to Indra. It may be pointed out that the word *vajra* (and its derivatives) is very rarely used for any other god. There are only four gods who are said to possess a *vajra,* but each one has been mentioned only once. For instance, it is only once that Rudra has been addressed as *vajrabāho* (2.33.3). In 10.83.6, it is once Manyu who has been addressed as *vajrin.* In 8.7.32, the Maruts are said to wield *vajra,* and in 1.40.8 it is Brahmaṇaspati who is said to wield a *vajra*. Otherwise, in all its over 250 occurrences, the *vajra* has been exclusively and particularly used for Indra. Even in the case of dual deities, with whom *vajra* is linked, the first member is invariably Indra. For instance, Indrāvaruṇā (4.41.4), Indrāgnī (1.109.7; 6.59.3), and Indrāparvatā (1.132.6).

Therefore, the one who holds *vajra* in hand and wherewith slays the *vṛtras (vṛtrāṇi* 'enemies' or 'obstacles') is definitely Indra (though not mentioned in the Ṛk). It is Indra's trade-mark, his exclusive weapon.

Verse No. 5

tigmam eko bibharti hasta āyudhaṁ śucir ugro jalāṣabheṣajaḥ.

In verse 5, the words *tigmam, āyudham, śuciḥ, ugraḥ,* and *jalāṣabheṣajaḥ* are notable. All of them have been used for one particular divinity. The crucial epithet is *jalāṣabheṣaja*. This epithet

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12. The only other gods for whom *Vāśī* is used is the Maruts (1.88.3; 37.2; 87.6; 5.57.2), and once for the Ṛbhus (10.53.10).

occurs four times in the *Ṛgveda* and once in the *AV.* 2.27.6. In all its occurrences it invariably refers to Rudra. In 1.43.4, the ṛṣi-poet prays to Rudra who is the lord of sacrifice, lord of hymns, and the lord of medicines :

gāthapatiṁ medhapatiṁ rudraṁ jalāṣabheṣajam :

tacchaṅyoḥ sumnamīmahe !! (1.43.4).

In 2.33.7, the Ṛṣi asks for the gracious hand of Rudra that brings health and comfort (*kva sya te rudra mṛḷayākur hasto yo asti bheṣejo jalāṣaḥ*). In the Śantisūkta (7.35), the verse 6 prays to Rudra, the healer (*śaṁ no rudro rudrebhir jalāṣaḥ)* . In *ṚV.* 5.42,11. Rudra has been portrayed as the lord of medicines (*(yo viśvasya kṣayati bheṣajasya*). The character of Rudra as a physiologist has been often emphasized in the *Ṛgveda.* He is the physician of physicians *(bhiṣajām bhiṣaktamam,* 2.33.4).[13]

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13. For detailed information see R.N. Dandekar, *Vedic Mythological tracts,* p. 202f, S.D. Satavalekar, *PAIOC,* I, p. XIII, Macdonell, op.cit., p. 76.

The etymology of the word *bheṣaja (bhiṣaj)* presents some difficulty. Apte (*Sanskṛta-English Dictionary,* S.V.) derives the term from the root *saj* -'to attach', 'plaster', with the upasarga *abhi* (though he is not sure). The word is found only once in the *Ṛgveda* (8.79.2) in the third person singular *'bhiṣakti'* 'he heals'. The verse reads :

abhyṝṇoti yannagnaṁ bhiṣakti viśvam yatturam/

premandhaḥ khyanniḥ śroṇo bhūt //

("All that is bare he covers o'er, all that is sick he medicines; the blind man sees, the cripple walks". -tr. Griffith).

Jean Przyluski explains *bhiṣaja* (Avestan-*bivaz,* 'doctor', 'healing') as connected with Sanskrit *viṣa* 'poison' and connects with the Austric speech which appears to have influenced Iranian also (*"Emprunts anaryens en Indo-aryen", Le Monde Oriental,* Vol. 28 (1934), p. 140 ff). Mayrhoffer (*Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen)* takes the word to mean 'curing', healing' 'physician', and connects with the verb *bhiṣṇaj* found in *ṚV* 10.131.5 d (*sarasvatī tvā*

The other epithet of Rudra in this Ṛk is *śuci*. He is a bright and luminous divinity. This epithet occurs only once for Rudra in this Ṛk only. However, the word *śukra* (meaning bright) has been often used for Rudra in the *Ṛgveda*. In 2.33.9, Rudra is said to adorn himself with bright gold decorations (*sthirebhiraṅgaiḥ pururūpa ugro babhruḥ śukrebhiḥ pipiśe hiraṇyaiḥ*). The word *ugraḥ* may also be noted in this Ṛk.

Another feature of the divinity in the Ṛk is that he bears a sharp weapon (*tigmam āyudham)* in his hand. It is only once that Indra (2.30.3) and Soma (9.90.3) have been said to possess a *tigma āyudha*. But what is the *tigma āyudha* has not be specified. But, in the case of Rudra, a couple of other references may be noted. In 7.46.1, Rudra (mentioned by name) is said to possess a *tigma āyudha*. And in 6.74.4, the dual divinities *Somārudrau* are regarded as *tigmāyudhau.* Hence, *tigmāyudham* of the present verse would refer to Rudra. But what is this *tigma āyudha* of Rudra? In 5.42.11, Rudra is regarded as *sviṣuḥ* and *sudhanvan* (possessing good arrow and strong bow). Similarly, in 7.46.1, the Ṛsi-poet exhorts the worshippers to offer their prayers to Rudra who possesses a firm bow and sharp arrow.

imā rudrāya sthiradhanvane giraḥ
kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne!
aṣāḷhāya sahamānāya vedhase
tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ!!

On the strength of the proximity of the words *tigmāyudhāya, sthiradhanvane* and *kṣipreṣave* in this Ṛk, the mention of

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maghavannabhiṣṇak), cf. also Geldner, *Der Ṛig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche ü bersetzt,* Vol. I on *ṚV* 1.24.9, Renou *Etudes vedique et pāṇinienne,* Vol. IV, p. 96; and Gonda *Epithets in the Ṛgveda,* 1959, p. 129.

tigmāyudham in the present Ṛk under consideration would obviously mean *dhanuḥ*. The bow of Rudra/Śiva is quite popular in Vedic and Post-Vedic literature. In the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *pināka* bow of Śiva plays a crucial role.

Further, it may be pointed out that this Ṛk provides important traits of Rudra's personality. He is said to possess a twofold personality,[14] 1. benevolent and 2. molevolent. The words in the present Rk clearly brings out these features. Rudra is a benevolent god and a brilliant hydropathist (*śuciḥ jalāṣa bheṣajaḥ);* but, at the same time he is a terrible *(ugra)* god wielding in his hand a sharp weapon. This twofold personality of Rudra continues through out his mythological evolution in both the Vedic and the post-Vedic Epic and Purānic literatures.

Verse No. 6

patha ekaḥ pīpāya taskaro yathā eṣa veda nidhīnām.

The sixth verse contains two expressions : *path (:) ekaḥ pīpāya* and *eṣa veda nidhīnām*. The first expression means, One who has made the paths abound in riches (*pīpāya* from the root *pyai* 'to be, full', 'to overflow', hence 'to make rich'), and the second means 'one who knows (the places of hidden) treasures. As will be shown, these two expressions befit only one divinity, namely, Pūṣan.

Pūṣan is closely associated with 'paths'. He is the lord of paths (*pathaspati,* 6.49.8). He helps his worshippers on their paths. He knows all the directions (10.17.5), therefore he is beseached to lead people on by the paths that are free from fear and danger (10.17.5). He himself was born on the path (10.17.6).[15]

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14. Dandekar, op. cit, 202; Macdonell, op. cif., 75.

15. *Ibid,* 93; 105.

Another conspicuous trait of Pūṣan is his close association with wealth and treasure. In 1.89.6, he is regarded as *viśvavedas.* He is said to be *purūvasu* (8.4.15). In the present Ṛk he knows the (hidden) treasure as does a thief.

In this connection, the hymn 1.42 is very significant. In this hymn two-fold character of Pūṣan, namely, his close association with path (vss. 1;2;3;4;7;8), and with wealth (vss. 6;9;10) has been clearly emphasized. In verses 1; 2; 3, he is solicited to make roads short to travel, and to remove obstacles, and dangers like wolves, robbers, etc., from there. In Vs. 6, he is regarded as the lord of prosperity and requested to make the worshipper wealthy. What has been described of Pūṣan in ten verses in 1.42 has been condensed in one verse in 8.29.6. These two traits, path-finder and wealth-giver, became so much closely linked with the personality of Pūṣan that he could be recognised without mention of his proper name.

Verse No. 7

trīṇyeka urugāyo vi cakrame yatra devāso madanti.

The words *trīṇi* and *urugāya*, and the expression *yatra devāso madanti* are noteworthy. The adjectival numeral *trīṇi* has been used here without a substantive. We have to supply *padāni* to make the expression *trīṇi padāni ekaḥ vicakrame.* Such an expression occurs in other places also. For instance, in 1.22.18, Viṣṇu (mentioned by name) is said to have made three steps; or earlier in Vs. 17, it is said that Viṣṇu strode three worlds, and placed his three feet. Similarly in 8.12, 27, Viṣṇu (mentioned by name) strode with his three wide steps (cf. also 8.52.3).

On the strength of the above occurrences *trīṇi* in the present Ṛk would mean *trīṇi padāni* which Viṣṇu took. Further, on account of his this great feat of three strides he gets the appellation *urugāya* (wide goer or strider).[16]

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16. *Ibid,* 73; 76.

The epithet *urugāya* has been very often employed for Viṣṇu. In 1.154.1, Viṣṇu has been described as setting down his footsteps thrice striding widely (*tredhā urugāyaḥ*). In the 3rd verse of the same hymn, Viṣṇu, the bull, is far striding; and in the sixth verse of the same hymn, the mansion of Viṣṇu of wide-strides (*urugāyasya)* has been mentioned.[17] Further, the expression *yatra devāso madanti* has a parallel in 1.154.5d (*viṣṇoḥ pade parame madhva utsa/ ..... naro yatra devayavo madanti),* and in 1.154.4 (*yasya trī pūrṇā madhunā padānyakṣīyamāṇā svadhayā madanti/ ya u tridhātu pṛthivīm uta dyām eko dādhāra bhuvanāni viśvā //*).

Hence, the 7th verse, on the force of the words *trīṇī, urugāya,* and the expression *yasya devāso madanti* refers to Viṣṇu.

Verse No. 8.

vibhir dvā carata ekayā saha pra pravāseva vasataḥ/

In verse eight, *vibhir dvā carata ekayā* is a peculiar expression solely and exclusively used for the Aśvins. The numeral *dvā (dvau)* occurs only here referring to the two Aśvins. Who is *ekā* with whom the Aśvins move around? Here, the Sūryā sūkta (*ṚV* 10.85) may be referred to. In verse 14, the Aśvins came as the wooer in the Sūryā bridal. In 1.116.17, the daughter of the sun (*sūryasya-duhitā, Sūryā)* ascended the chariot of the Aśvins. In 1,184.3, the gods arranged the Sūrya's bridal where the Nāsatyās were present. Apart from this, the instrumental *vibhiḥ (vī* 'to move') [Adādi, parsm.] hence, *vibhiḥ aśvaiḥ*) occurs exclusively in almost all its usages in connection with the Aśvins. The only exception is *ṚV* 5.53.3 where it occurs with the Maruts. In 1,46,3, the chariot of the Aśvins flies with winged horses.[18] On the strength of all the above references the eighth verse refers to the Aśvins.

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17. Cf. also *urugāyāya* in 1.155.4; 4.3.7; 7.100.1.
18. Cf. also 1.119.4; 5.53.3; 74.9; 75.5; 6.62.6; 8.5.22.

Verse No. 9

sado dvā cakrāte upamā divi samrājā sarpirāsutī.

The clues in the 9th verse are *dvā samrājā (dvau samrājau).* In 6.67.1, the number *dvā* refers to Mitrāvaruṇā (the name occurs in b). But, the most clinching word is *samrājā*. It has often been used for the dual deities Mitrāvaruṇau. In 1.13.61 and 2.41.6 *tā samrājā are Mitrāvaruṇau.* The words *yā samrājā* in 5.68.2 refer to Mitra and Varuṇa who are mentioned there by their names. In 8.23.30, Agni is requested to bring Mitrāvaruṇā (mentioned by name) who are *ṛtāvānā, samrājā, and pūtadakṣasā*. In 8.25.4, these divinities who are mentioned by name have a string of epithets :

mahāntā mitrāvaruṇā samrājā devāvasurā/
ṛtāvānāvṛtamā ghoṣato bṛhat //

(cf. also the verse seven).

In 10.65.5, the Ṛṣi prays to the two sovereign kings who never show carelessness even mentally (*mitrāya śikṣa varuṇāya dāśuṣe yā samrājā manasā na prayucchataḥ),* (cf. also 5.63, 2;3).

The other significsnt epithet is *sarpirāsutī (āsutiḥ* from *ā √su,* primarily Soma pressing, secondarily any ' drink'). There are two gods who are regarded as *sarpirā sutiḥ*, Agni[19] and Mitrāvaruṇā. Sometimes the term *sarpi* is replaced by the word *ghṛta*. In 1.136.1, the dual deities Mitrāvaruṇā are called *ghṛtāsutī (tā samrājā ghṛtāsutī yajñe yajña upastutā).* Similarly in 2.41.6 (*tā samrājā ghṛtāsutī ādityā dānunasptti).* In 5.68.2, they are regarded as *ghṛtayonī (samrājā yā ghṛtayonī mitraścobhā varuṇaśca/ devā deveṣu praśastā).*

Therefore on the strength of the epithets *samrājā* and *sarpirāsutī,* the present verse refers to Mitrāvaruṇā.

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19. For Agni see 2.7.6; 5.21.2, 7.9; 8.74.2; 10.69.2.

Verse No. 10

arcanta eke mahi sāma manvata tena sūryamarocayan/

The last verse is an eulogy of the Ṛṣis. Here the numeral *eke* (masc. pl.) is problematic. According to Sāyaṇa and Geldner *eke arcantaḥ* are the Atris. In support, Geldner[20] cites *ṚV* 5.40,6 cd :

gūḷhaṁ sūryaṁ tamasāpavratena turīyeṇa brahmaṇā vindadatriḥ.

("By his fourth sacred prayer Atri discovered Sūrya concealed in gloom"); and *ṚV* 5.40.9.

yaṁ vai sūryaṁ svarbhānustamasāvidhyadāsuraḥ/
atrayastamanvavindannahya 'nye aśaknuvan'//

("The Atris found the sun again, him whom Svarbhānu of the blood of Asuras had pierced with gloom ....");

Macdonell[21] favours the Aṅgirases and quotes *ṚV* 1.62.2 *cd.* (*yenā naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ padajñā arcanto aṅgiraso gā avindan* ("...... through whom our sires, Aṅgirases, singing praises and knowing well the place, found the cattle (or rays of the light, *gāḥ)* and in 10.62.3 it is said, "you raised the sun to heaven by everlasting law, O Aṅgireses" (*ya ṛtena sūryamārohayan divi...... (he) Aṅgirasaḥ). Bergaigne* holds a different view. According to him[22] this Ṛk also, like the preceding ones, is part of the Viśvedevāḥ divinities, and the mention of divinities in the earlier Ṛks enforces that this Ṛk does not refer to any Ṛṣi or Ṛṣis, but to certain divinities. These divinities, according to him, are the Maruts. In

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20. As quoted by Peterson, *op. cit.* on this verse.

21. *Vedic Religion*, tr. into Eng. by V.G. *Paranjpe*, Poona, 1969f, Vol. I, 132n; Vol. II, p. 282.

22. R.S. *Sharma*, "The Vidatha, the earliest folk-assembly of Indo-Aryans", *JBRS* 38 (3-4); (also in *PIHC*, 15th session, 1954, 85-91.

support of his view, he quotes the Ṛgvedic verses such as 1.19.4, 2.34.1; 3.14.4; 5.56.5; 7.56.20, and 8.7.8.

The *Sarvāvnukramaṇī* mentions the Ṛṣi as Manu Vaivasvata or Kaśyapa Mārīca.

To sum up, Apparently Vedic Ṛṣi-poets and Vedic intelligenstia were fairly well aware of the hymnic creations, mythological figures, and prayers and eulogies directed to them. Epithets and attributes were freely employed to forcefully bring out characteristic features of a divinity. Some of these epithets and attributes became so standardized and stood out so prominently that the name of that divinity was dispensed with, and the divinity was unmistakably recognized and understood. This practice has been widely employed in the *Ṛgveda*. *Sahasaḥ sūnuḥ* always means Agni; *tisro devīḥ* always means Iḷā, Sarasvatī, and Bhāratī whether their names are mentioned or not. How was this knowledge disseminated when the only means of communication was the mouth?

We come across a word *vidatha* in the *Ṛgveda* and other Vedic texts. The word means 'folk-assembly',[23] 'religious congregation' or 'sacrificial site' (Sāyaṇa), or a meeting ground for different kinds of contests.[24] Ṛṣi Gṛtsamada, in a refrain like manner, declares :

bṛhad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ

2,1,16; 11.21; 28.17; etc.

It is likely that *vidatha* (also vāji) served a sort of *kavi saṁgoṣṭhī* where poets of all hues, old and new, senior and

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23. Elizarenkova, "Notes on contests in the Ṛgveda", *ABORI,* 68, 106.

24. In the famous *jñāna-sūkta* (10.71), the verse five mentions that the one who has gained the friendship of Vāk, cannot be defeated in learned assemblies (*vājineṣu*).

junior[25] used to assemble and present their poetic creations. Ṛgvedic poetry is not an isolated creation. It was wrought by the *kāravaḥ* in a standard form, recited by them for people at large, and understood by one and all. *Ṛgveda* 8.29 is a standard example of such an activity.

APPENDIX

(Visvedevāḥ hymns in the RV)

Entire

Maṇḍala	I	14, 90, 105, 107, 122, 139, 186
	II	29, 31
	III	54-57
	IV	55
	V	41, 43-51
	VI	49-52
	VII	35-37, 39, 40, 42, 43
	VIII	27-28
	IX	29, 30, 83
	X	31, 32, 35, 36, 56, 57, 61, 64-66, 92, 93, 100, 101, 109, 114, 126, 128

Partial

	I	3, 7-9; I. 23, 10-12; I. 164, 1-41;
	II	.41. 13-15;
	III	20, 1-5
	IV	26, 9;
	V	42, 1-10, 12-18;
	VI	21, 9, 11;
	VII	34, 1-5, 18-25;
	VIII	50,3;
	IX	54, 3, 4; 69, 11
	X	33, 1; 62-7, 63, 1-14, 17.

Total Number of Hymns : Entire 59, Partial 15.

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25. *Agniḥ pūrvebhir ṛṣibhirīḍyo nūtanairuta,* ṚV. 1.1.2.

JAYAŚEKHARA AND HIS JAINAKUMĀRASAMBHAVA

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The author in this paper has critically examined the theme, source, rasa, nature-description, characterisation, language, figures of speech and metres of the *Jainkumārasaṃbhava (JKS)* of Jayaśekhara Sūri and holds that *JKS* represents a happy blend of the poetry of Kālidāsa and Māgha. By virture of its poetic excellence and adherence to Mahākāvya tradition, the *JKS* deserves a better treatment than it has received so for.

Of the few writings that owe themselves to Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṁbhava* (*KS*)[1] which, unlike his 'cloud messanger' is not otherwise known to have spurred a new genre of poetry, the *Jaina-Kumāra-saṁbhava*[2] of Jayaśekhara Sūri calls attention by virtue of its manifold excellences and close adherence to the time-tested Mahākāvya-tradition. Jayaśekhara represents a happy blend of the twin strands of lucidity and flamboyance as typified by Kālidāsa and Māgha respectively and fostered by some of the subsequent poets with uneven success. While the *Jaina Kumārasaṁbhava (JKS)* is void of autographic details, other sources also yield no more than bare outlines of his career. The fact that he did not pontificate the

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1. Ed. M.A. Karandikar, Booksellers Publishing Company, Bombay, 1950. Ed. M. R. Kale, Delhi.
2. Āryarakṣita Pustkoddhāra Sansthā, Jamnagar, V.S. 2000.

gaccha despite holding the highest rank of ācārya which blotted him out from the traditional *paṭṭāvalis,* has further compounded the difficulty. The *Praśasti* to his *Dhammilacarita (DC),* however, reveals that Jayaśekhara was by far the most brilliant pupil of Mahendraprabha Sūri, the chief pontiff of the *Añcalagaccha.* He was elevated to the high rank of *Śākhācārya* in V. S. 1420 at Anhillpur[3]. Jayaśekhara is known to have been the driving force behind the *pratiṣṭhā-ceremony* of the famed temple built by Govind Seth at Ratnapur, in V.S. 1414.[4] The inscription on the pedestal of the image in the Śānti-nātha temple at Pethapur alludes to Jayaśekhara, though the date of the epigraph seems to be misleading, to say the least.[5] He is not known to have survived upto V. S. 1517 from any reliable source. The last date available for him is doubtless V.S. 1462, the year in which the *DC.* was completed.[6]

Jayaśekhara was a well-equipped scholar and a gifted poet, besides being a famed practitioner of Yoga. He was also a polyglot of sorts. His writings in Sanskrit, Prakrit and some of the vernaculars confirm it beyond cavil. His *Prabodhacintāmaṇi* was written in V.S. 1439, while the *Upadeśacintāmaṇi* and *Dhammilacarita* owe themselves to V.S. 1462 (1405 A.D.). The *JKS* purports to be his *magnum opus* on which rests his fame and glory. From the fact that it is mentioned in the author's *DC,* the *JKS* may confidently be assigned to the opening years of the fifteenth century A.D.

Jayaśekhara had a brilliant pupil in Dharmaśekhara. His commentary[7] on the *JKS,* written in V.S. 1482 (1425 A.D.), besides

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3. *Dhammilakumāracarita,* Praśasti, 3-6.
4. H. C. Lal, *Jainagotrasaṁgraha,* P. 95.
5. Buddhisāgar : *Jainadhātupratimā lekhasaṅgraha.* Part I, No. 688.
6. *Dhammilacarita,* Praśasti, 10.
7. Ṭīkāpraśasti, 5.

being a sure guide to resolve the text, is intended to be an humble recompense for all that Jayaśekhara had done for him.

Theme :

Intended as a counterpart to Kālidāsa's poem, the *JKS* means to describe in the body of eleven cantos Ṛṣabha's marriage and the birth of his son (Kumāra) Bharata with poetic fanfare and flair. With the brilliant description of Ayodhyā forming an apt backdrop, canto one deals with the early part of Ṛṣabha's life from his birth to the time he flowers into a winsome youth. On hearing from the divine singers that Ṛṣabha was still unmarried, Indra, the lord of heavens, rushes to Ayodhyā and impresses upon him, with sound arguments, the rationale of turning the marital life into an institution by first accepting it himself, with no loss of time. Indra construes his silence as an unerring pointer to his willingness and fixes the marriage with his real sisters Sumaṅgalā and Sunandā.[8] He addedly bids the deities to gear themselves for the fabulous festivity. The better part of cantos Four and Five concern themselves with the execution of the marriage preceded by a plethora of related rites and marital traditions that obtained in the era. Ṛṣabha returns home to great rejoicings. He enters the bedroom with his young brides as a seeker of truth, and proceeds with the affair with incredible indifference. The sixth canto closes with a pointed allusion to Sumaṅgalā's conception. Sumaṅgalā views the fourteen traditional dreams and hastens to Ṛṣabha at an odd hour to ascertain their outcome. Canto Nine is addressed to a detailed description of the outcome of the exquisite dreams, and the fortune that was to attend on her. On

8. Marriage with one's real sister was prevalent among the Śākyas also. The Yama-Yamī sūkta of the *Ṛgveda* (X-10) also deserves attention.

J.C. Jain : *Jaina Āgama Sāhitya men Bhāratīya Samāja, Varanasi,* 1965, P.3, F.Ṇ 2.

knowing that the dreams prognosticated the birth of a *cakravartī* son, she rushes back to apprise her friends of the prospective birth of a great son. Indra assures her that the interpretation of the dreams by her husband could not go wrong, and she would be blessed with a worthy son at an appropriate hour.

Not unlike the bulk of the post-Kālidāsan *mahākāvyas,* the execution of the theme in the *JKS* tends to raise many a frown. The theme is evidently at odd with the wide canvas of the poem. Left to itself, it could not have stretched beyond three cantos or four, but it has been swelled to its present form with such time-worn devices as the theory sanctions. The *JKS* is infested with strings of diverse descriptions, some of which have hardly any organic connection with the theme. The first six cantos are dominated by such trite phenomena as the six traditional seasons, sunrise, night, midday and moon-rise. The author's fascination for the digressions continues unabated in the later part of the poem as well. Of the last five cantos, only the dreams that Sumaṅgalā views and their outcome detailed by Ṛṣabha have a perceptible link with the main story. Cantos Ten and Eleven do not have much relevance to the peom and could have been conveniently dropped. The *JKS* would be a more homogeneous poem with nine cantos. The affirmation of the outcome of the dreams by Indra after Ṛṣabha had spelt it out, is an exercise in futility. It impinges on the majesty of the god-like hero. Evidently Jayaśekhara has fallen prey to the prevailing trends of poetry which insisted on the embellishment of the poem more than its imaginative execution.

Sources of the JKS

Notwithstanding the misplaced attempts to trace Ṛṣabha or Vṛṣabha back to the *Ṛgveda* itself[9], the outlines of his career are first

9. Acharya Tulsi and Muni Nath Mal : *Atīta kā Anāvaraṇa* Bhārtīya Jñānapīṭha, 1965, p. 7.

reflected in some of the Brāhmaṇa Purāṇas[10]. It is, however, the burly *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that deals with the pontiff's life at some length, albeit in the Vaiṣṇava ambience. His birth is thus attributed to the grace of the *Yajñapuruṣa.* He married Jayantī, the daughter of Indra and begot on her one hundred sons. The eldest of them was Bharata who lent his name to the country[11]. In consonance with the character of the Purāṇa, Bharata has been projected as a devout follower of the Bhāgavata cult.[12]

Jinasena's Ādipurāṇa (9th century) and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacarita* (TŚPC) of Hemacandra (12th century) form the two major sources of Ādideva's life. They seek to depict in detail Ṛṣabha's career in its totality, in their respective styles. Jinasena's account (cantos XII-XV) touches a high water mark because of its poetic virtues and pedantic overtones. The corresponding piece in the *TŚPC* is lop-sided, its sweet diction notwithstanding. While the earlier half of Ṛṣbha's life preceded by Marudevī's dreams which form a prologue to the account has spilled over around five hundred verses in canto Two of the Ādiparva, the later half up to his embracing asceticism has been disposed of rather hastily, in three hundred verses, though it outsizes the earlier part. With but a few exceptions, Jayaśekhara has followed the *TŚPC* so meticulously that the *JKS* appears to be a faithful replica of Hemacandra's *magnum opus.* Besides the framework of its story, the *JKS* owes to Hemacandra a good number of ideas and expressions as well. They differ only on one count. While in the *TŚPC* Sumaṅgalā's fourteen dreams have been disposed of with a brief account of their outcome, Jayaśekhara has squandered away two sizable cantos on the

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10. *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* 50.39-41; *Kūrmapurāṇa,* 41. 37-38; *Vāyupurāṇa* (Part I), 33.50-52, *Agnipurāṇa,* X.10-11 etc.
11. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (Gita Press), V. 4.2.
12. *Ibid.,* XI. 2.7.

episode[13]. With the birth of Kumāra as its *phalāgama,* the *JKS* could not have done otherwise.

Jayaśekhara's Indebtedness to Kālidāsa

Whatever his sources, for the execution of the theme Jayaśekhara is deeply indebted to Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṁbhava,* though the imprint of the *Raghuvaṁśa* is also occasionally perceptible thereon. It is, however, a different matter if the theme itself tends to sag under the impact of the master.

The brilliant sketch of Ayodhyā that marks the *JKS* in its inception doubtless owes itself to the gorgeous description of the Himalayas in the first canto of the *KS*[14]. Even if it does not match the rich imagery, realism and vibrance of Kālidāsa's description, it is potent enough to reflect the considerable poetic talents of the author. Both the poems are enlivened by a happy account of the birth and early youth of Pārvatī and Ṛṣabha respectively[15], though the palm invariably lies with the master. While the deities in the second Canto of the *KS* wait upon Brahmā and beseech him to relieve them of the tyranny of the demon Tāraka, Indra in Jayaśekhara's poem descends upon Ayodhyā to perform an equally momentous task.[16] The *stotra* in Canto Two of the *JKS* is evidently inspired by Brahmā's eulogy but sounds bald and insipid in comparison to the poetic excellences and philosophic overtones of Kālidāsa's piece. Indra's charming conversation with Vasanta wherein the lord of the heavens instigates him to wreck Śaṅkara in his concentration, is paralleled by his (Indra's) intimate parleys with Ṛṣabhadeva which aim at provoking

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13. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (TŚPC)*, I. 2.886-887; *Jaina-Kumārasaṃbhava,* VII. 9.
14. *KS.*, I 1-16; *JKS.*, I. 1-16.
15. *KS.*, I 20-49; *JKS.*, I. 17-60.
16. *KS.*, III. 3-15; *JKS.*, II. 49-73.

the lord to opt for the marital life so that it is institutionalised once for all.[17] The conversation in the *JKS* may lack the sweetness and vibrance of Kālidāsa, it is not unworthy as a piece of poetry. The pre-marital embellishments of the brides in Canto three followed by those of Ṛṣabha in the fourth obviously owe themselves to the corresponding adornments of Śiva and Pārvatī, as brilliantly detailed by Kālidāsa[18]. While the depiction in the *KS* exudes charm, its counterpart in Jayaśekhara tends to degenerate into a bald recital of the *nakhaśikha* beauties of the brides, their occasional similarities notwithstanding.[19]

The marriage of Ṛṣabha, as detailed in the *JKS*, purports to be a replica of Śaṅkara's marriage. Indra herein performs the function which the seven sages are assigned to perform at Osadhiprastha[20]. The plethora of marital rites and ceremonies that obtained in their respective milieu, have been described in both the poems in meticulous details, though Jayaśekhara has swelled them beyond reasonable limits. As a befitting finale to the marriage-ceremony Himavān's priest instructs Pārvatī as to how she were to conduct herself in marital life. In the *JKS* Indra and Śacī vie with each other to dole out sermons to the brides in a similar vein[21]. After the marriage is performed, Śaṅkara eagerly conducts Pārvatī to the *boudoir*. Ṛṣabha, on the other hand, sedately enters the sleeping chamber with his brides as a seeker of truth rather than a full-blooded lover.[22] The sexual orgy, detailed by Kālidāsa with abandon, was simply abhorrent to the Jaina monk. He has sought to

17. *KS.*, III. 1-13; *JKS.*, III. 1-36.
18. *KS.*, III 7-24; *JKS.*, III. 60-81, VI 14-32.
19. *KS.*, VII.15,VIII.9, VII. 17, VII-21; *JKS*, III. 64, IV. 15, IV. 17, IV. 31.
20. *KS.*, VI. 78-79.
21. *KS.*, VII. 83, JKS, V. 58-83.
22. *KS.*, VII. 95, JKS, VI. 23.

imply the on-goings in the bedroom with a feeble hint to Sumaṅgalā's conception. It is the equanimity that characterises his exchanges with the brides, howsoever ridiculous it may appear in the situation[23].

Taking cue from Kālidāsa, the author of the *JKS* has worked up a conversation between Ṛṣabha and his brides. Umā's encounter with Śaṅkara disguised as an ascetic-boy can match the best in Sanskrit poetry because of its poetic excellences and dramatic overtones. The counterpart in the *JKS* does not rise above mediocrity. As noted earlier, both the poems mean to describe the birth of Kumāra but enigmatically shun its actual narration. As such, the titles overshoot their contents. Some of the digressions in the *JKS* are also inspired by Kālidāsa. Not unlike him, Jayaśekhara has drawn a lively picture of the night and moonshine which form an apt backdrop to the post-marital enjoyments of the new couple.[24]

Rasa :

The *JKS* stands in an uneviable position so far as the depiction of *rasa* is concerned. In view of the genius of the theme, *Śṛṅgāra* should have asserted itself to emerge as the chief sentiment. But, though concerned with marriage and birth, the theme has been handled in a way that the erotic sentiment, as it peeps out, lacks the depth and profusion worthy of the *aṅgirasa*. The author seems to be all too eager to project *nivṛtti* as the summum bonum of the poem, whereas *pravṛtti* should have been the driving force. As a consequence, while the uninhibited description of the sexual sports

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23. *JKS*, VI. 26.

24. For a detailed discussion on the quantum of debt that Jayaśekhara owes to Kālidāsa see my paper Jayaśekhara's Indebtedness to Kālidāśa, *Bhārati-Bhānam* (Dr. K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume), Hoshiarpur, 1980, P. 193-203.

of the divine couple in the *KS* has served to release a strong current of erotics, one has to be content with stray flashes of *Śṛṅgāra* in the *JKS.*

The whole gamut of the author's poetic endeavours is meant to disseminate the quintessence of the Jainistic thought which insists on revulsion against all that seeks to distract one from the *Triratna.* But, strangely enough, the expression of quietitude (*Śāntarasa)* that was essential to realise the lofty aim, is also subdued in the poem. It appears that Jayaśekhara was not keen to uphold any of the sentiments as the *angirasa* of the poem. The *JKS* thus stands closer to Bhāmaha's concept which allows free independent play to all the *rasas* in the *Mahākāvya* without insisting on any one of them to surpass others as an *aṅgirasa.*[25] Though caught in a hopeless situation, quietism may still be viewed as the main sentiment of the *JKS.* All of Ṛṣabha's exertions climax in tranquility (*śama)*/ detachment (*Vairāgya)* which forms the lasting feeling (*sthāyibhāva)* of the *śāntarasa.* His tranquility asserts itself in the way he conducts himself in the bedroom after his marriage[26].

Jayaśekhara's skill in depicting the various feelings of *Śṛṅgāra* is beyond question. He is equally at home in delineating them separately and jointly. The insecure *nīvī* of the city-damsel gives in to the onrush of feelings as she rushes to have a glimpse of Ṛṣabha on his return to the town. Her lower garment slips down but she forges ahead, undettered.[27] It may be odd to impute on her any

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२५. युक्तं लोकस्वभावेन रसैश्च सकलैः पृथक्। *Kāvyālaṃkāra,* I. 21.

२६. त्रिरात्रमेवं भगवानतीत्यानिरुद्धपित्रानुपरुद्धचित्तः।
ततस्तृतीयेऽपि पुमर्थसारे प्रावर्ततावक्रमतिः क्रमज्ञः॥ *JKS.* VI. 25.
भोगार्हकर्म ध्रुववेद्यमन्यजन्मार्जितं स्वं स विभुर्विबुध्य।
मुक्त्येककामोऽप्युचितोपचारैरभुंक्त ताभ्यां विषयानसक्तः ॥ *JKS.* VI. 26.

२७. *Ibid,* V. 39.

passion for the lord, her *autsukya,* the *saṁcārībhāva* of *Śṛṅgāra*, is unmistakably reflected in her keenness and forgetfulness.

Vātsalya is evident in Ṛṣabha's childhood-pranks (I-27-28). The *anubhāvas* of the *Raudrarasa* find expression in the furiousness of the elephant. The violent shaking of his body and fearsome eyes unerringly reflect 'anger' (*krodha)*, the permanent feeling of Raudra (I.37). The stir created by the irate bison results in the effective emergence of the Bhayānaka (IV.6). Traces of the *sthāyibhāva* of the *Adbhutarasa* are also perceptible, howsoever feeble they may be (I-25, 74).

Besides the sentiments, Bhāva has also been depicted in the *JKS* with a measure of skill. The eulogist's *rati* towards Ṛṣabha, as it unfolds itself in the *stotra,* exemplifies *Bhāva*[28]. To the devout, no god is higher than Ṛṣabha, no word is more sublime than his name, no virtue is greater than his worship and no bliss outstrips his vicinity (II-71).

Natural Phenomena :

As a Mahākāvya, the *JKS* provides a vast canvas for the author to depict the kaleidoscopic beauties of nature according to his asthetic tastes and theoretic compulsions. Jayaśekhara's expertise in the art is beyond doubt, though he may not always match his mentor.

Alive to the contemporary trends, Jayaśekhara excels in personifying the vast array of natural phenomena in their diversity. To him the nature is not a lifeless entity, but vibrates with a plethora of feelings and conducts itself like a living being, readily responding to man's weal and woe. The figure of speech Samāsokti has come handy to him to invest the nature with human character. The brief

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२८. रतिर्देवादिविषया व्यभिचारी तथाञ्जितः। *Kāvyaprakāśa*, IV-35.

description of day-break in Canto Ten is by far the best piece so far as personification of nature is concerned. With Samāsokti as an effective medium, Jayaśekhara has gone the whole hog to enliven the phenomena.

The lotus has been assigned the role of a 'practitioner of mantras'. Like an earnest lover, the lotus, standing in deep waters, chanted efficacious mantras throughout the night to realise 'his' objective. He was rewarded for his austerities. Prompted by the touch of the sun, he has robbed the rival moon of its *lakṣmī* (beauty) and is now enjoying her unhindered on the *patraśayyā*. The lotus blooms in glory after the moon fades away in the early morning, this daily occurrence, when personified , comes to exude charm and vibrance.

गम्भीराम्भःस्थितमथ जपन्मुद्रितास्यं निशाया-
मन्तर्गुञ्जन्मधुकरमिषान्नूनमाकृष्टिमन्त्रम्।
प्रातर्जातस्फुरणमरुणस्योदये चन्द्रबिम्बा-
दाकृष्याब्जं सपदि कमलां स्वाङ्कतल्पीचकार॥ *JKS*, X. 84

In accordance with the practice of the day, Jayaśekhara has accorded greater importance to the ornate description of nature. But it has to be said to his credit that his ornate diction does not weigh down with the complexities of Yamaka and Śleṣa nor is it marred by nauseating sensuousness. As a matter of fact Jayaśekhara revels in drawing lovely sketches of nature with flourishes and imageries, though some of them seem to be over-stretched, if not far-fetched. The beauties of night have prompted him into quite a few winsome imageries. He is convinced that the night was originally bright in colour. It was as a consequence of tormenting the chaste woman that it has turned dark with the heat of their curses.

हरिद्रयेयं यदभिन्ननामा बभूव गौर्येव निशा ततः प्राक् ।
सन्तापयन्ती तु सतीरनाथास्तच्छापदग्धाऽजनि कालकाया॥ *JKS*, VI.7

However, to view the twinkling stars as bits of bones is rather unkind, though not unknown earlier (VI. 3).

Notwithstanding his predilection for the *vakrokti,* Jayaśekhara is not indifferent to the natural beauties of Prakṛti. He has no doubt pressed into service some of the figures of speech in detailing its ālambana-aspect, they happily do not hamper the view of its inherent beauties. Canto Six is distinguished by many a lovely sketch of the six traditional seasons, attempted through the device of *śleṣa.*The natural characteristics of the respective seasons are, however, clearly visible through the thin veil of śleṣa (VI. 40-50).

Contrary to the tradition, Jayaśekhara has largely refrained from projecting nature as an inflaming agent. And therein he makes a decisive departure from Māgha, to whom otherwise he owes much.

Characterisation :

The *JKS* provides a happy ground for the mortals and immortals to rub shoulders together. Of the five characters, Śacī has a negligible role to play, while Sunandā is heard of only once or twice, her status of the younger heroine notwithstanding.

Ṛṣabhadeva, the hero of the poem, is set in a purāṇic ambience but the range of his operations is wide enough to reflect the totality of the virtues prescribed by the author for the hero of the Mahākāvya[29]. They echo in essentials the poeticians' concept of hero[30]. Majestic, powerful and personable, it is the sense of utter detachment that distinguishes him from the common rut of heroes. As against a vibrant hero, he conducts himself with a deep aversion to wordly pursuits and pleasures. Even in the bed, he proceeds with

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२९. दाता कुलीनः सुवचा रुचाढ्यः रत्नं पुमान् न चाश्मभेदः। JKS, XI-34.

३०. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, III. 30.

an unusual tranquility, presuming it all to be the outcome of his earlier actions to which he was destined to submit. If Kāma ever met his waterloo, it was in his skirmish with him. He is otherwise a man of many parts. He represents a blend of a god, teacher, ascetic and pilgrimage. He is a hero not like a lesser mortal. He is as good as the supreme being.

In comparison to her great husband, Sumaṅgalā, the heroine of the poem, sinks into insignificance. Left to herself, she makes a worthy character. But she seems to suffer from an engimatic inferiority. Her inability to divine the dreams sends her in about of self-denunciation. The scorn she pours on the whole lot of women is also a pointer to lack of self-esteem. She is unsure of herself. In her reckoning, woman and sobriety do not go together.

Language :

Jayaśekhara is indebted to Kālidāsa for the execution of his theme, but so far as the language is concerned Māgha seems to have been his mentor. It is true that the language of the *JKS* does not match Māgha in flamboyance and pedantic flourish, nor is it marred by the abstruseness that forms the hallmark of Meghavijaya, his predilection for the pedantic tends to blur the lucidity of his language. Jayaśekhara means to overwhelm the reader with his profound equipment in grammar. The *JKS* is infested with strings of recondite grammatical forms that, not unoften, weigh it down heavily. Jayaśekhara's fascination for the perfect and aorist knows no bounds. There is hardly any verse in the poem which does not contain forms in either of the two[31]. The *JKS* is virtually lost in the labyrinth of intricate

लुङ् (कर्तरि)—अपीप्यत् (I.25), उपासिसीष्ट (II.67), संगसीष्ट (III.33), आपत्सत

formations with such fearsome suffixes as *kvasu, kānac, kayṁ, khac, khaś, iṣṇuc, gsnu, kvanip*[32], besides complex compounds and other frustrating gimmicks. Nor has the author been miserly in airing his equally sound equipment in lexicon. He has used with gusto such lexical words as are hardly met with elsewhere or assigned extremely rare meanings to the well-known words. Jayaśekhara is confident of his grammatical equipment and has claimed to be a sound scholar in the discipline (V. 56).

It would, however, be erroneous to conclude from the plethora of complicated grammatical forms met with in the *JKS* that Jayaśekhara means to illustrate thereby the grammatical rules like Bhaṭṭi or spin out an intractable poem like Śrīharṣa. Despite the Śāstric constraints, it is the polished ease that has met the author's approbation. His grammetical equipment drives him to induct

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(IV.54), आदित (V.24), अवैक्षिष्ट (VI.29), समलज्जिषाताम् (VI.48), निरवीवृतत् (VII.57).

लुङ् (कर्मणि)—अधायि (I.41), अवामि (II.6), आशंसि (VI.51), ऐक्षि (IX.59)

माङिलुङ्—मा भाजि (IV.48), मा सदत् (X.56), मा भाजि (IV.48)।

स्मोत्तरे—मा स्म मंस्थाः (III.16), मा स्म कषत् (V.54), मा स्म तप्यत् (V.77)

लिट् (कर्मणि/भावे)—बभूवे (II.17), जिजीवे (III.54), जगे (IV.25), ईये (VIII.58), उपतस्थे (VI.63)।

३२. **क्वसु**—ईयुषा (II.63), वितेनुषी (I.56), जगन्वान् (VIII.47), ईयिवान् (II.62)

क्यङ्—अवत्सरायन्त (III.37), अब्दसखायितम् (VI.59), भृशायते (VIII-20), कश्मीरवनायमाने (XI.14)

खच्—सर्वंकषता (I.72), कूलंकषः (IX.65), वाचंयमः (XI.33)

खश्—मितम्पचः (X.76), ललाटंतपः (XI.62), धन्यंमन्याः (V.85), कूलमुद्रुजः (IX.63)

इष्णुच्—अपत्रपिष्णुः (I.50), चरिष्णुः (VII.46), निराकरिष्णुः (XI.1)

ग्स्नु—जिष्णुना (IX.63), प्रभूष्णु (V.81)

क्वनिप्—शास्त्रदृश्वा (VIII.43)।

learned forms with a view to enrich his language, while his zeal to disseminate the Jainistic thought in poetic garb, deters him from indulging in verbal monstrosities and extravagant flourishes. The chiselled beauty and lucidity of Jayaśekhara's language evidently stems from the judicious application of Anuprāsa and Yamaka which, more often than not, lead to the emergence of a sweetly vibrant phraseology.[33]

The features[34] which, in his view, the language of the *mahākāyya* should imbibe to effectively voice its varied contents, are but a tailored version of the ten *guṇas* (poetic qualities) championed by the ancient poeticians. The theme of the *JKS* cannot boast of a rich variety of contents. But whatever diverse situations are there within its limits, they have invariably evoked accordant phraseology. The spate of emotions sprung from unflinching devotion to the lord in Canto Two, unfolds itself in a language that is at once lucid and sweet.[35]

Mṛdulatā is one of the traits of the language laid down by Jayaśekhara. Tenderness coupled with ease results in sweetness of phraseology. The arguments that Indra advances to convince Ṛṣabha of the desirability of his opting for marital life are imbued with *mādhurya* which accords with the genius of India's logic and thereby paves the way to elicit the lord's acceptance.

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३३. *JKS*, I-34, VIII.10, X.1, II-7, III.10, X.13

३४. स्वादुतां मृदुलतामुदारतां सर्ववाक्पटुतामकूटताम्।
शंसितुं तव गिरः समं विधिः किं व्यधात्र रसनागणं मम॥ *JKS*. X. 6

३५. तव हृदि निवसामीत्युक्तिरीशे न योग्या
मम हृदि निवस त्वं नेति नेता नियम्यः।
न विभुरुभयथाहं भाषितुं तद्यथार्हं
मयि कुरु करुणार्हे स्वात्मनैव प्रसादम् ॥ *JKS*, II.72

A winsome simplicity born of *Prasāda* breathes through the better part of the *JKS.* A good number of situations have been couched in the Vaidarbhī style which is distinguished by the absence of compounds or a mild dose thereof. The description of Sumaṅgalā's *vāsagṛha* (abode) and the nuptial sermon are pe vaded by a natural ease. The garb of diaphanous phraseology has lent the sermon a lovely aura.

अन्तरेण पुरुषं नहि नारी तां विना न पुरुषोऽपि विभाति।
पादपेन रुचिमञ्चति शाखा शाखयैव सकलः किल सोऽपि॥ *JKS,* v. 61
या प्रभूष्णुरपि भर्तरि दासीभावमावहति सा खलु कान्ता।
कोपपंककलुषा नृषु शेषा योषितः क्षतजशोषजलूकाः॥ *JKS,* v. 81

Jayaśekhara's ability to handle the different tiers of language with equal ease have enabled him to draw word-pictures of respectable order. Attempted after assimilating all aspects of the objects under description, they are notable for realism. The sketches of Sumaṅgalā's abode and the mount Aṣṭāpada represent two different styles. While the first is marked by innocent simplicity, the latter appears in ornate glory (VII. 3-6).

The language of the *JKS* bristles with a series of wise sayings, the *subhāṣitas.* They have evidently sprung up from the imaginative use of Arthāntaranyāsa and Dṛṣṭānta. They may not always be original in the strict sense of the term, they bespeak the author's sensitive mind, close observation and wide experience. They have veritably turned the *JKS* into a lake of *sūktis,* as the commentator puts it. Some of them merit reproduction :

(i) अन्यदर्था हि सतां क्रियाखिला। II. 56

(ii) स्याद् यत्र शक्तेरवकाशनाशः श्रीयेत शूरैरपि तत्र साम। III. 15

(iii) न कोऽथवा स्वेऽवसरे प्रभूयते। IV. 69

(iv) जात्यरत्नपरीक्षायां बाला किमधिकारिणः । VII. 68

(v) अतित्वरा विघ्नकरीष्टसिद्धेः । VIII. 62

(vi) जाग्रतोऽस्ति नहि भीः । x.58

Figures of speech :

The *alaṁkāras* are so attuned to the genius of Sanskrit poetry that it would be illogical to dismiss them as 'fleeting properties' (*asthira dharma*) thereof. It is, however, their judicious use that has been favoured by the sober critics[36].

Jayaśekhara has pressed into service the figures of speech of both the word and meaning to impart clarity and force to his expression. Of the *śabdālaṁkāras,* he has deep fascination for *śleṣa.* He has resorted to śleṣa so often that it pervades the major part of his poem. He has opted for it even at places where it has no *locus standi.* The nadir of śleṣa is perhaps reached in Canto Ten where some of the philosophic tenets and dance-postures are skilfully interwoven in a pregnant phraseology.[37] Yamaka has also been used with some tenacity. Not unlike *śleṣa,* it is happily shorn of abstruseness otherwise inherent in it. Besides stray examples, a number of verses bear testimony to the author's expertise in this dubious game[38]. Coupled with the two figures, the alliteration is interwoven in the length and breadth of the poem. The most winsome form of alliteration is represented by the Antyānuprāsa which imparts a pleasing sound effect to the verse.[39]

The *arthālaṁkāras* in the *JKS* are also true to their function.

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३६. यथौचित्यमलंकारान् स्थापयामास पार्थिवः । *Pārśvanāthacarita* IV.291

३७. सद्गुणप्रकृतिराप चापलं कापि कपिलमताश्रयादिव ।
रङ्गयोग्यकरणौघलीलया साक्षितामुपगते तदात्मनि ॥ *JKS.* X. 62.

३८. परान्तरिक्षोदनिष्कलंका नाम्ना सुनन्दा नयनिष्कलंका ।
तस्मै गुणश्रेणिभिरद्वितीया प्रमोदपूरं व्यतरद् द्वितीया ॥ *JKS.* VI. 46

३९. *JKS*, I-2

Based on appropriate *upamānas,* the simile has been used so frequently that the *JKS* may well be rated as a thesaurus of charming *upamās.* The standards of comparison employed by Jayaśekhara have invariably led to the clarity of expression. The hopes of the abhisārikas in Ayodhyā were belied as the wrongful application of the *mantras* makes all accomplishments infructuous (I.7). Sumaṅgalā tied her lower garment securely as does a sea-merchant his cash (VIII. 4). Jayaśekhara's philosophical *upamās* are equally revealing. A lady, at the bride's house, put a piece of cloth round Ṛṣabha's neck and conducted him to the marriage-maṇḍapa as Prakṛti perforce drags Puruṣa into the worldly existence.[40] The *upamāna* Prakṛti serves to highlight the swiftness with which Ṛṣabha might have been drawn to the *maṇḍapa.*

The figure of speech that has been used the most in the *JKS* is Arthāntaranyāsa. Some of the verses turn out to be extremely pleasing illustrations of this lovely *alaṁkāra.* The moon showers brightness on the world but his spouse Rātri instantly smears it dark. Even the gifted people seldom get the wives of their choice.[41] Dṛṣṭānta also shares the credit with Arthāntaranyāsa to make the *JKS* a veritable store-house of *subhāṣitas.* It has been handled with due expertise, and is therefore exemplified by some of the most winsome verses[42] in the poem. Samāsokti is another favourite *alaṁkāra* of the author. As noted earlier, it has been used with quite some frequency in personifying the natural phenomena (X.83).

Besides these major figures of speech, Virodhābhāsa,

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४०. *JKS*, IV-74

४१. तितांसति श्वैत्यमिहेन्दुरस्य जाया निशा दित्सति कालिमानम्।
अहो कलत्रं हृदयानुयायि कलानिधीनामपि भाग्यलभ्यम् ॥ *JKS*, VI.9

४२. दृष्टनष्टविभवेन वर्ण्यते भाग्यवानिति सदैव दुर्विधः।
जन्मतो विगतलोचनं जनं प्राप्तलुप्तनयनः पनायति ॥ *JKS*. X.51.

utprekṣā, Rūpaka, Paryāya, Vibhāvanā, Apahnuti, Anumāna, Vyatireka, Asaṅgati, Kāvyaliṅga, Viṣama, Tadguṇa, Udātta etc. also contribute their share to make the expression effective and clear.

Metre

Though viewed as an outer trapping, the metre is inseparable from the genius of Sanskrit poetry. But for the metre, it would sink into bald prose.

The *JKS* respects the norm in the use of metre as well. Each of its Canto is dominated by a solitary metre which, as required by the theory, changes towards the close. Upajāti is doubtless the favourite metre of the poet. Five of the eleven cantos of the *JKS* are composed in this cosmopolitan metre. In all eighteen metres have been pressed into service in the *JKS,* which are as follows : Upajāti, Vasantatilakā, Śārdūla-vikrīḍita, Vaṁśastha, Mālinī, Pṛthvī, Drutavilaṁbita, Śālinī, Rathoddhatā, Mandākrantā, Vaiśvadevī, Anuṣṭup, Praharṣiṇī, Hariṇī, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Svāgatā and Śikhariṇī.

The *JKS* is thus a worthy heir to Kālidāsa's master-piece. The fusion that it has brought about between the two opposite strands of poetry served to usher in a diction that was exploited with fruitful results in some of the subsequent *mahākāvyas*. The feat coupled with a host of virtues has ensured the *JKS* a worthy place in the galaxy of Sanskrit Mahākāvyas. By all accounts, it merits a better treatment than what it has received so far.

DISCOVERY OF A NEW PROTOHISTORIC SITE IN ALLAHABAD DISTRICT (UTTAR PRADESH)

Dr. Krishna Kumar

Fatehpur

Here it is proposed to briefly describe and illustrate the antiquities discovered at Mīrāpaṭṭī and also to point out their significance. .

I. Introduction :

It is well known that the Ochre Coloured Pottery (hereafter, OCP) represents one of the earliest protohistoric cultures of Northern India. Although the archaeological excavations at Saipai (Uttar Pradesh) have clearly shown that the Copper Hoards are stratigraphically associated with the OCP,[1] the archaeologists are generally reluctant to accept this fact. The Copper Hoard/OCP Culture was a wide spread phenomenon, which roughly extended from Bhadla[2] (Punjab) in the north-west to Parihati[3] (West Bengal)

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1. B. B. Lal, 'A Note on Excavations at Saipai', *Puratattva*, 5, 1971-72, p. 47.
2. R. S. Bisht, 'Transformation of the Harappan Culture in Punjab with Special Reference to the Excavations at Sanghel and Chandigarh' in U. V. Singh (ed.) *Archaeological Congress and Seminar*, : 1972, Kurukshetra, 1972, pp. 19-20.
3. A. Ray and A. K. Dutta, 'Copper Hoard Culture in West Bengal' *Journal of Ancient History* (University of Calcutta), XI, 1978, pp. 61-62.

in the east and Kausambi[4] (Uttar Pradesh) in the south. But, the archaeologists generally believe that it was only confined to the Sarasvatī and the Upper Gaṅgā basins, and Sringaverapura (Uttar Pradesh) represents its eastern outpost. The recent discovery of a copper shouldered axe together with the rolled OCP sherds from a pit at village Mīrāpaṭṭī in Allahabad District (Uttar Pradesh) has, however, confirmed that it was an extensive culture, which was also prevalent in the Mid-Gaṅgā valley, and the Copper Hoards and the OCP represent two attributes of one and the same protohistoric culture-complex.[5]

II. Discovery :

In August 1986 while I was posted as Registering Officer, Antiquities and Art Treasures in Allahabad Region, I received an intimation regarding the discovery of a treasure trove from the District Magistrate, Allahabad. On 22nd August 1986 I visited the Police Station at Utraon and examined 10 silver coins of the Mughal emperors. After the examination of the Treasure Trove was over, Shri Amar Nath Singh, Head Constable, Utraon Police Station requested me to examine one more object in his custody. I was surprised to see that it was a copper shouldered axe. As per Police record it was recovered on 25th December 1985 from the possession of Shri Dharmaraj Patel, a resident of village Thariya, who got it on 24th December 1985 while digging a pit in a brick-field at village Mīrāpaṭṭī. Therefore , with a view to examine the site, in company of Shri Uma Shankar Yadav, Constable I visited the

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4. G.R. Sharma, *History to Prehistory : Archaeology of the Ganga Valley*, Allahabad, 1980, p. 68.

5. Krishna Kumar, 'The Copper Hoard/OCP Culture in the Mid-Ganga Valley : An Appraisal in the light of New Discoveries', in C. Margabandhu *et. al.* (ed), *Indian Archaeological Heritage* (Shri K. V. Saundara Rajan Festshrift), Delhi, 1991, p. 155.

village Mīrāpaṭṭī, where I could meet Shri Ramesh Chandra, a resident of village Mairadand, who claimed to have first discovered the said copper shouldered axe at a depth of about 1 meter from the surface while digging a pit for water storage at the brick-field. He also showed me the actual spot where he got the copper shouldered axe. He further told me that while he was curiously looking at the object, Shri Dharmaraj Patel, a co-worker had snatched it away from his hands and fled to his village Thariya, where in order to ascertain its metallic contents, he even broke one corner of the butt-end of the copper shouldered axe. Immediately, the matter was reported to the Police Station, Utraon, and the celt was promptly recovered the next day. I examined sections of the said pit where the copper shouldered axe was actually found, and also the adjoining trenches in the brick-field, and found that the rolled OCP sherds occur irregularly to a depth of about 1 meter from the surface. From the foregoing account of the new discovery the genuineness of the copper shouldered axe and its association with the OCP was established beyond doubt, as it was recovered from the OCP bearing horizon of the pit. Subsequently, the site was also visited by Sarva Shri V.D. Mishra, B.B. Mishra, R.K. Dwivedi and other members of the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad. They also collected the OCP sherds from the site. The selected pieces from this pottery collection, now preserved in Kausambi Museum, University of Allahabad, are also published here. (Figure 1).

III. Site :

The ancient site of Mirapaṭṭi (82^0 8.30' E-25^0 26.30' N) is located on the northern bank of a seasonal rivulet, locally called Barnā (Varuṇā)-a tributary of the Gaṅgā at a distance on about 4 km. north-east of Utraon Police Station in Handia sub-division of district Allahabad in Uttar Pradesn (see Map). Although in topographical

sheets the village is spelt as 'Mīrānpaṭṭī, yet locally it is known as 'Mīrāpaṭṭī'. From Allahabad and Varanasi the site is approachable partly by the Grand Trunk Road (a National Highway), partly by a metalled road and partly by a cart track. While the major part of the ancient site—a flat plain—is under cultivation, the pit yielding the copper shouldered axe lies within the precincts of a private brick-field. The OCP sherds mixed with potsherds of the historical period were found littered all over the site.

A preliminary examination of the sections of the pit yielding the copper shouldered axe and the adjoining trenches dug by the workmen of the brick-field revealed that the rolled OCP sherds occur irregularly in a nearly 1 meter thick deposit of *Kankar* bearing reddish soil, which rests on the natural soil. However, no sign of a regular habitation was visible in this deposit, which is massive and devoid of stratification. The soil is hard and comes out in lumps while digging.

IV. Pottery :

The limited quantity of the OCP sherds picked up from various sections of the pit yielding the copper shouldered axe and the adjoining trenches in the brick-field fall into two broad categories: (i) the hand-made and ill baked coarse thick ochrous red ware with dark core, and (ii) the wheel-turned and well fired ochrous red ware made of well levigated clay.

*(i) Hand-Made Pottery :*This pottery is represented by a single OCP sherd of thick fabric, which possibly formed part of a storage jar (Plate I). Its texture is extremely coarse showing a large amount of organic material, like chaff and rice-husk mixed up with clay and tiny nedules of lateritic soil used as degraissant lending a rugged texture to the ware.

(ii) Wheel-Turned Pottery : The majority of the OCP sherds are wheel-made (Plate II). They consist of three fabrics : thick,

medium and thin. While most of the sherds are pale red in colour, a few sherds show pinkish and grayish tinge too. The sherds are so fragile that ochrous powder comes off even if they are touched softly. No evidence of a slip, painting or incised decoration has survived. One sherd, however, displayed a graffiti-mark resembling the letter *ga* of the Mauryan Brāhmī script. Since the potsherds are badly mutilated, highly relied and pitterd, it is not possible to properly recognise their shapes. However, the presence of storage jars, vases, basins and bowls is suspected on the basis of a few better preserved rim fragments. (Figures 1). They are briefly described below :-

A. Storage Jars :

(a) Storage jar with a thick collared outcurved flaring rim and wide mouth; thick fabric; coarse texture; pale red colour; rolled and pitted. (Figure 1, e). It bears some distant resemblance with an analogous shape from Lal Qila (*Puratattva,* 5, 1971-72, Fig. 7,1).

(b) Storage jars with thick featureless outcurved flaring rim and wide mouth; thick fabric; coarse texture; pale red colour; rolled and pitted. (Figure 1, f, h).

B. Vases :

(a) Vase with a short thick angular internally faceted outcurved rim with wide mouth; thin fabric; fine texture: pale red colour; rolled (Fugure 1, a). It bears same resemblance with the analogus shapes from Bahariya (*Puratattva*, 5, 1971-72, Fig. 16, 4) and Saipai (*Puratattva,* 5, 1971-72, Fig. 21, 13).

(b) Vase with a thick square cut outcurved flaring rim and narrow mouth; thin fabric; fine texture; pale red colour; rolled (Figure 1, g).

C. Basins :

(a) Deep basin with a thick incurved faceted rim, wide mouth

and semi-circular profile; thick fabric, fine texture; pale red colour; rolled (Figure 1, b). It bears some resemblance with an analogous shape from Noh (*Puratattva,* 5, 1971-72, Fig. 17, 1).

(b) Deep basin with an externally beaded rim and wide mouth; thin fabric; fine texture; pale red colour; rolled (Figure 1, d). It bears some resemblance with an analogous shape from Bahariya (*Puratattva,* 5, 1971-72, Fig. g.16,9).

D. Bowl :

A shallow basin or bowl with a thick featureless rim, narrow mouth and convex profile; thin fabric; fine texture; greyish colour; rolled (Figure 1,c). It bears some resemblance with an analogous shape from Bahariya (*Puratattva,* 5, 1971-72, Fig. 16,1).

As noticed above the few surviving rim fragments from Mīrāpaṭṭī show some correspondence with the analogous OCP shapes from sites, like Bahariya, Saipai and Lal Qila in Western Uttar Pradesh and Noh in eastern Rajasthan. Moreover, it is totally free from the Harappan influences as noticed on the OCP from sites in the Upper Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doab.* The pottery from Mīrāpaṭṭī, however, represents a further stage in the evolution of the OCP in the Gaṅgā valley.

V. Copper Shouldered Axe :

Except for the solitary copper shouldered axe no other associated find was recovered from the site. Measuring 16.9 cm in length, 13 cm in width and 0.8 cm in thickness near the butt-end, it is about 1100 gm in weight. (Plate III & Figure 2). It has a broad convex edge, long parallel sides and straight butt-end with rounded corners. The lead portion is only one third of the total length. The edgc is dull and smooth. It bears a thick layer of greenish patina on both the faces. As stated above one cornor of the butt-end was intentionally broken by Shri Dharmaraj Patel on 24th December

1986. It is presently housed in the Allahabad Museum. Since the shoulders are not pronounced, it appears to represent a transitional stage between the flat and the shouldered axes. Typologically, it bears close resemblance with the shouldered axes or axe-ingets from Chhota Nagpur Plateau. Similar axes or axe ingots are also known from Bithur,[6] Shahabad[7] and Dhuskaha[8] (Uttar Pradesh), Kamdera[9] (Bihar) and Gungoria[10] (Madhya Pradesh). Significantly, this tool-type is not known from any Copper Hoard assemblage discovered in the Sarasvatī and the Upper Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doab*.

VI. Conclusion :

The significance of this discovery lies in the fact that it has for the first time conclusively shown that the OCP was not only confined to the Sarasvatī and the Upper Gaṅgā basins. Contrarily, it was a wide spread phenomenon, which also extended to the Mid-Gaṅgā valley. It has also stratigraphically demonstrated that the OCP and the Copper Hoards represent two facets of one and the same protohistoric culture-complex, which extended all over the Sarasvatī and the Gaṅgā basins. The typological similarities between the OCP from Mīrāpaṭṭī and the sites in the Upper Gaṅgā valley on the one hand, as well as between the copper shouldered axes or axe-ingots from Mīrāpaṭṭī and the sites in Lower Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doab*, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Chhota Nagpur Plateau on the other, suggest

6. Paul Yule, *The Copper Hoards of the Indian Subcontinent, München*, 1989, p. 202 (no. 772).
7. *Ibid*, p. 205 (nos. 1162, 1164, 1165, 1167, 1168, 1169).
8. Krishna Kumar, 1991, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
9. Paul Yule, *Metal Works of the Bronze Age in India*, München, 1985, p. 77 (no. 899).
10. *Ibid.* , p. 48 (no. 447 & 451).

that the bearers of the Copper Hoard/OCP culture at Mīrāpaṭṭī did not live in isolation. They enjoyed cultural contacts with their neighbours living both in the Upper Gaṅgā valley and the Chhota Nagpur Plateau. It also suggests that this culture had spread from west to east, but not from east to west as generally held by the archaeologists.[11] Moreover, as this culture had spread slowly towards east, it went through gradual evolution, but not devolution as held by others.[12] Total absence of the sophisticated Copper Hoard objects, viz. harpoons, lance-heads, antennae swords, anthropomorphs etc. in the Mid-Gaṅgā valley suggests that while the Upper Gaṅgā valley was the hub-centre of the Copper Hoard/OCP culture, the Mid-and the Lower Gaṅgā basins served merely as the perepheral regions.

The presence of a large amount of chaff and rice-husk in the solitary hand-made potsherd from Mīrāpaṭṭī suggests that the OCP people were sedentary agriculturists living in small hamlets in the river-valleys. They were not itinerant copper smiths as generally

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11. B. B. Lal, 'Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin, and A Review of the Problem', *Ancient India,* 7, 1951, p. 38; S. P. Gupta, 'The Indian Copper Hoards : The Problem of Homogenity, Stages of Development, Origin, Authorship and Dating', *Journal of Bihar Research Society,* 49, pp. 151 & 165; Y. D. Sharma, 'Contribution to the Seminar on the OCP' *Puratattva,* 5, 1971-72, p. 23; P.L. Gupta, 'Copper Hoards in India', in H.H.E. Loofs-Wissowa (ed), *The Diffusion of Material Culture',* (University of Hawail), Manova, 1980, pp. 297-231; S. Bose, 'The Copper Hoards of West Bengal', in A. M. Shastri *et. al.,* (ed) *Vajpeya* (Essays on Evolution in Indian Art and Culture), I, Delhi, 1987, p. 42.

12. Suraj Bhan, 'The Spread and Sequence of Prehistoric Cultures in the Upper Sarasvati Basin' in O.P. Agrawal and A. Ghosh eds), *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology,* Bombay, 1973, p. 261.

held by the scholars.[13] The occurance of a graffiti-mark resembling the letter *'ga'* of the Mauryan Brāhmī script on a potsherd from Mīrāpaṭṭī suggests that although such marks were initially used as potter's marks, but subsequently they also played some role in the development of the Brāhmī script. Besides Mīrāpaṭṭī., Kamauli[14] and Itwa (Balua Police Station)[15], both in Varanasi district, are the other two important sites of the Copper Hoard/OCP culture in the Mid-Gaṅgā valley. But, excepting Mīrāpaṭṭī, nowhere both the OCP and the Copper Hoard objects were found together. There is every possibility that if all the aforesaid three sites are intensively explored and scientifically excavated they may focus new light on the Copper Hoard/OCP culture in the Mid-Gaṅgā valley. As discussed elsewhere, the authorship of the so-called Copper Hoard (Circa 2000-1000 B.C.) in Northern India may be attributed to the late Ṛgvedic Aryans[16] as well as to the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[17]

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13. D. P. Agrawal, *Copper-Bronze Age in India,* Delhi, 1971, p. 205.
14. *Indian Archaeology* 1963-64-*A Review,* p. 58; Krishna Kumar, 1991, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
15. K. N. Dikshit, 'The Copper Hoards in the light of Recent Discoveries', *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology* (University of Sagar), 2, 1968, p. 50; Yule, 1985, *op. cit.* p. 13; Krishna Kumar, 1991, *ep. cit.*, p. 156, pl. 14, 1-4.
16. Krishna Kumar, 'The Authorship of the Copper Hoard/OCP Culture', *Panchala* (Kanpur), III, 1988, p. 128; 'Idolatory in the Ṛgvedic Age : Some Literary and Archaeological Evidence', *Archiv Orientalni,* (Praha Academia, Czechoslovakia), 2, 56, 1988, p. 113; 'Religion and Authorship of the Copper Hoard/OCP Culture', in C.P. Sinha (ed) *Archaeology and Art* (Shri Krishna Deva Felicitation Volume), Delhi, 1990, p. 99; 'The Silver Plates of the Gungeria Hoard : Their Monetary Significance' *Journal of Economic and Social History of Orient* (The Netherlands) 1992, 35, p. 92.
17. Krishna Kumar, 'The Ochre Coloured Pottery or the Ramayana Age Culture', *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* (Poona). 72

Acknowledgments

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Illustrations

& 73, 1991-92, pp. 379-393.

METHODS OF WORSHIP : INDIAN APPROACH

Ganesh Prasad Panda

Orissa

The present paper aims at exploring different methods of pūjā or worship of different gods in-India and tries to discover their inter-relations and interactions in Hinduism.

* 1. Preliminary

There are different methods of worshipping gods in India. As the personification of god differs, so also the approach of the worshipper. With the history of *upāsanā* or *ārādhanā* the idea of *pūjā* came into existence. The abstract perceptions of human mind wanted to visualize god in concrete form. Thus, we find a gradual growth and development of idols and their worshipping methods. A successful blending of different methods became a fulfledged tradition in Hinduism. Due to the interaction between Aryan and non-aryan cultures, such a blending of different methods was possible which gave a new thrust to later Hindu culture.

2. Definition of the word *pūjā*, its synonyms, derivation and origin

The meaning of the word *pūjā* is given in various texts. The *Vīramitrodayabhaktiprakāśa* (*Vbp*) defines *pūjā* as : *'arcanaṁ pūjā*

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sā ca abhyudayaniśreyasaheturiti tatra tatrouktam'.[1] The *Pūjāprakāśa* explains *pūjā* as : *tatra 'pūjā nāma devatoddeśena dravyatyāgātmatvād yāga eva.*[2] Thus, worshipping is a kind of offering to propitiate a deity. This is the general meaning of the word *pūjā*. The *Amarakoṣa* provides with the word *pūjā* six other synonyms. They are as follow : *pūjā namasyā'pacitiḥ saparyārcārhaṇāḥ samāḥ'* (2.7.34). The *Śabdaratnāvalī* [3] adds one more synonym called *nuti*. Interestingly, all the terms are used in feminine. However, the term *pūjā* is absent in the *Ṛgveda*. But, most of its synonyms are existent. Sāyaṇa, the great commentator, while explaining those terms, explains them with the help of the word *pūjā*, except in one case where it is explained as *stuti* 'praise'.[4] Though, the early occurance of the word *pūjā* is traced in one of the Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇas,[5] its antiquity is not certain. But, it is certain that during the Upaniṣadic period it had already entered into Sanskrit language and as a result, we find a number or occurances of the word in different Upaniṣads. The word is certainly Pre-Pāṇinian since Pāṇini includes the root *pūj* in his *Dhātupāṭha*.[6] But, wherefrom the word came into Sanskrit language, is a matter of query among the scholars. Some of the scholars, with evidences, try to prove its Dravidian Origin. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the linguist,

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1. Vide *Vbp.* (Ed.) Padmaprakaśa Mishra, Banaras, 1936, p. 80.
2. Vide *Pūjāprakāśa* , p.1
3. Vide *Śabdakalpadruma,* Vol. III, Dehli, 1961, p. 211.
4. Vide Sāyaṇa's commentary of *Ṛv.* 10,104, 7 : *'Jarituḥ stotuḥ namasyāḥ stutayaḥ panavta stuvanti'.*
5. Vide *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa,* 1.5 : *'tadapyevamāhur ya idamupadhārayata ekaikasya ṛṣeḥ divyaṁ varṣasahasramatithir bhavati/ abhinanditaḥ pratinandito mānitaḥ pujitas tataḥ svādhyāyaphalamupajīvatīti'*
6. Vide Pāṇini's *Dhātupātha* under *curādi* section.

while giving the history of the word *pūjā,* provides its etymology;[7] of course, which is not of his own, but he quotes Professor Mark Collins who has suggested that the Sanskrit word *pūjā* (from which the root *pūj* was deduced later) was nothing but a Dravidian *pū* 'flower' plus root*ge 'to do' (palatalized to *je*) which is found in Tamil as *chey*, in Kannada as *ge* and in Telugu as *che* : *pūjā* < **pū-ge, *pū-je, *pū-che* was thus a "flower ritual", a "flower service" a *puṣpa-karma* just as *homa* was described as *paśukarma* or religious service entrailing the slaughter of an animal. In contrast, Jarl Charpentier,[8] a scholar from Sweden derived *pūjā* from a Dravidian root *pasu* meaning "to smear", as the meaning of the sandal-paste or blood forms an important item in the *pūjā* ritual. From the evidences, in any case, the word seems a non-Aryan and Dravidic one.

3. The concept and history of worship.

However, even if the word *'pūjā'* entered into Sanskrit language in a later Vedic period, the concept of worship was there in a different form. As it is already mentioned, many of its synonyms were found in the Veda. The question here is-what was the form of worship? In the early Vedic period, offering oblations into sacrificial fire was the form of worship.[9] The sacrificial fire was considered to be the carrier of the oblations to deities.[10] This was the purest kind of *Śrautaworship* known to early Vedic people. The confluence of the Aryan culture with non-Aryan brought significant change in the history of worship. With the initiation of idol-worship, the method

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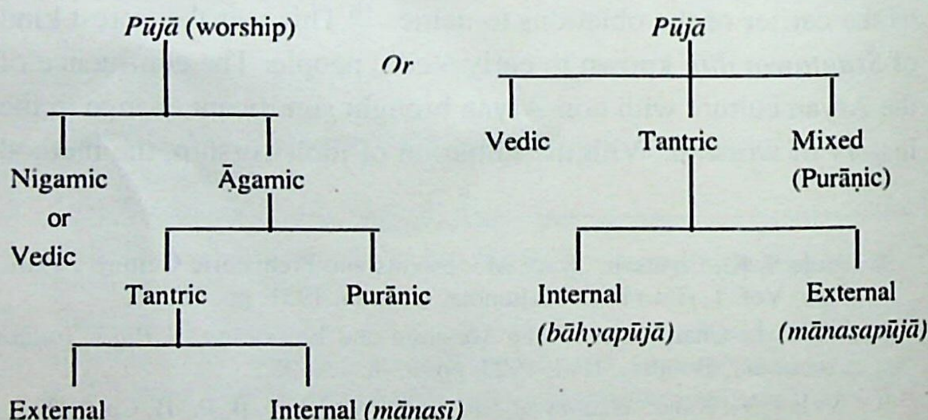
7. Vide S. K., Chatterji, "Race Movements and Prehistoric Culture", *Vedic Age* Vol. I, (Ed.) R.C. Majumdar, London, 1951, pp. 160-61.
8. Vide J., Charpentier, ."The Meaning and Eymology of *Pūjā, Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, LVI, 1927, pp. 93-8, 130-35.
9. Vide P.V., Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Ch. XIX.
10. Vide *Ṛgveda*, 1.1.4.

of worship also changed. The Vedic deities were multiplied into hundreds by the time of Puranic age. Among the deities, some were placed more and some were with lesser importance. The deities of different local origins were considered as different manifestations of earlier deities. With different deities, different forms and formalities came into existence. By the time of *Mahābhārata* these forms and formalities were adopted as alternative methods and hence given official sanctions in Hinduism. Thus, Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa's message to Arjuna follows as :

ye yathā māṁ prapadyante
tāṁstathaiva bhajāmyaham/
mama vartānuvartante
manuṣyāḥ pārtha sarvaśaḥ // (*S. B. G., IV.* 11)
patraṁ puṣpaṁ phalaṁ toyaṁ
yo me bhaktyā prayacchati/
tadahaṁ bhaktyupahṛta -
maśnāmi prayatātmanaḥ // (*S. B. G. IX,* 26)

4. Various pūjā methods

On this background, the various pūjā methods can be devided according to the following diagram :



As it is mentioned earlier in this paper, the vedic sacrifices are the purest form of Nigamic method of worship. The Āgamic one involves Tantric and Purāṇic methods. Different Tantric texts have laid down their *pūjā* methods which constitute the Tantric form of worship whereas *vratas, upavāsas,* etc., as mentioned in the *Purāṇas* form the Purāṇic method of worship.

5. The relationship among different pūjā methods; terms and terminologies used therein :

The difference between these two methods, i.e. Vedic sacrificial method and later *pūjā* method (as it is said [11] as *paśukarma* & *puṣpakarma* respectively) lies in a four-tier and three-tier relationship existing between these two methods. The following diagram clarifies the relationships in both the methods :

Form of worship	*Relationship*
1. Vedic Sacrifice	The host → Ṛtvik → Agni → deity
2. Pūjā method	Worshipper → Purohita → deity
	or
	Worshipper →deity.

The other important difference is the form of deity chosen in each case. In Sacrifice- sun, wind, earth, etc. are invoked whereas in *Pūjā* method the deities are concretised in the form of idols and worshipped.

The different terms, terminologies and symbols used in different systems also can be seen as under :

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11. As it is used in Chatterji's article "Race Movements and Prehistoric culture, *Vedic Age* (Ed.) R. C. Majumdar, London, 1951, p. 160

Sr.No.	God/deity	Worshipper	Worship	Symbols	Trend
1.	*Devatā*	*yājaka/ Ṛtvik*	*Yajña*	*Sacrificial fire*	*Vedic*
2.	*devatā śakti*	*sādhanā*	*sādhaka*	*yantra cakra*	*Tantric*
3.	*upāsya*	*upāsaka*	*upāsanā*	*vindu*	*yoga*
4.	*pratimā deva Vigraha etc.*	*pūjaka*	*pūjā*	*idols*	*common*

6. The later *smārta pūja* method; forms and formalities

The later Hindu culture, out of these methods, developed a synthesized form of *pūjā* method prescribed for house-holders. The *smṛtis* laid down the rules and regulations for worshipping the deities. That is called *smārta-pūja-vidhi.* A Hindu worships the deities in the daily routine (as *nityavidhi*) and also occasionally (as a *kāmyavidhi*). The deities i.e. Gaṇeśa, Bhāskara, Vahni, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Dūrgā are of supreme importance.[12] One among these deities, enjoys the central attention as a family deity. Under *kāmyavidhi*, a worshipper is free to choose the deity. But, the deity, purpose, time, place, elements, etc., required in performing such worships are provided in the texts and local digests. One has to follow them, depending upon his traditional follow ups. The most common process[13] followed there in are : *āsanaśuddhi, bhūtaśuddhi,*

12. Vide *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa, Prakṛtikāṇḍa*, ch. 8 :
"gaṇeśaṁ ca dineśaṁ ca vahniṁ viṣṇuṁ Śivam Śivāṁ/
saṁpūjya devaṣaṭkaṁ ca so' dhikārī ca pūjane/
gaṇeśaṁ vighnanāśāya niṣpāpāya divākaram/
vahniṁ śuddhāya viṣṇuṁ ca muktaye pūjayennaraḥ
śivaṁ jñānāya jñāneśam śivaṁ ca budhivṛddhaye
saṁpūjya tān labhet prājño viparītamato 'nyathā //
13. Vide *Tantrasāra* of Yāmala (as quoted in *Vācaspatyam under Pūjā*)
ādau ṛṣyādinyāsaḥ karaśuddhis tataḥ param/

ṛsyādinyāsa, prāṇāyāma, japa, mātṛkānyāsa, karanyāsa, aṅganyāsa, upacāras, homa, etc. which obviously, as it shows, have inheritance from different *pujā* systems.

7. Subtle aspects in Pūjā

The most subtle point in *pūjā* is- the three-fold involvement of the worshipper which makes the *pūjā* complete in all its aspects. Therefore, careful attention has been paid to these three, i.e. *'mantra'* 'involving verbal utterance', *'kriyā'* 'involving physical performances', and *'bhakti',* 'involving the mental attitude' .

8. Pūjā through the process of understanding Self

The *Mahānirvāṇatantra* a Tantric text emphasises-'The highest state is that in which presence of Brahman is perceived in all things. The middle state is that of meditation. The lowest state is that of external worship. Yoga is realization or the accomplishment of Unity between *Jīva* and *Paramātmā*. Worship is based on the two-fold knowledge that he is Īśvara, and I am his servant but for him who has known that everything is Brahmam there is neither yoga nor worship."[14] Moreover, on the authenticity of same tradition, we can say that no *pūjā* is inferior or superior but they refer to different states and affairs of mind under which they are performed.

9. The concluding remarks

The blending or confluence of these important streams was a necessity of time. The two important factors are noteworthy points in the history. (1) The cultural exchange between Aryans and non-

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aṅgulivyāpakanyāsau hṛdayādinyāsa eva ca
tālatrayaṁ ca digbandhaḥ prāṇāyāmas tataḥ param
dhyānaṁ pūjā japaś caiva sarvatantreṣvayaṁ kramaḥ

14. Vide Arthur, Avalon, *Principles of Tantra* (3rd ed.), Madras, 1960, p. 645.

Aryans (2) The tussel with the atheist schools, particularly, Buddhists and cārvākas who challenged the orthodox Brahmanism. As a result, the true spirit was cultivated; the concept of *pūjā* became broader in all its aspects and down-troddens were also given equal opportunity to worship god according to their own choice.

Thus, Hinduism considers the concept of *pūjā* with a broader outlook and allows different methods and practices in it. All these methods were also not remained separate compartments in course of time. A communicative method was established to cultivate the true spiritualism. A true Hindu realizes the real spirit behind all such methods and conceptions which are systemetized for the sake of convenience.

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अथर्वसंहिता के देवविषयक निर्वचन

डॉ० राजेश्वर मिश्र

कुरुक्षेत्र (हरियाणा)

The seeds of the science of etymology may be traced to the *Ṛk-Saṃhitā* in the practice of the *ṛṣis* to elaborate the exact nature, functions and qualities of the gods based on their names. The same technique has been used in the *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* also.

निर्वचन मनुष्य की भाषा विषयक अत्यन्त प्रारम्भिक तथा सामान्य जिज्ञासा का परिणाम है। यहीं से भाषाशास्त्र का आरम्भ है। इसका प्राचीनतम उदाहरण हमें **'ऋग्वेद संहिता'** में मिलता है। ये निर्वचन इतने स्पष्ट, स्वाभाविक और प्रसंगानुकूल हैं कि हमें मन्त्रों में प्रयुक्त पदों का अर्थ समझने में कठिनाई नहीं होती। ऋषियों ने बिना किसी कृत्रिमता और क्लिष्टता के ही इनका सहज प्रयोग किया है। यथा **'ऋग्वेद'** के ''गायन्ति त्वा गायत्रिणः'' (१.१०.१) मन्त्र में प्रयुक्त 'गायत्र' शब्द का निर्वचन ऋषि द्वारा प्रदत्त 'गायन्ति' क्रिया पद से संकेतित है। ऋषियों द्वारा प्रदत्त निर्वचन-शैली बाद में **निरुक्त,** ब्राह्मण-ग्रन्थों और भाष्यों में अर्थावबोध कराने वाली एक विशिष्ट पद्धति के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित हो गई।

सम्भवतः निर्वचन-शैली का उद्भव वैदिक देवविद्या के सहायक के रूप में हुआ होगा। यही कारण है कि **'निघण्टु'** (अध्याय ५) और **'निरुक्त'** (अध्याय ७-१४) का दैवतकाण्ड वैदिक देवताओं से सम्बद्ध है। प्रारम्भिक काल से ही वैदिक देवताओं के स्वरूप को स्पष्ट करने के लिए उनके गुणों एवं कर्मों के अनुरूप उनके नामपदों का निर्वचन कर उनका यथार्थ स्वरूप स्पष्ट किया जाता रहा है। आचार्य यास्क का मत है कि **निरुक्त** के बिना अर्थ की प्रतीति सम्भव नहीं है।[१] वे **निरुक्त** में

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१. निο, १.१५ : इदमन्तरेण मन्त्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते।

निर्वचन के प्रसंग में नित्य अर्थपरीक्षण को ही प्रधानता देते हैं।[२] आचार्य दुर्ग भी शब्द में छिपे हुए अर्थ का प्रकाशन निर्वचन से स्वीकार करते हैं[३] और यास्कीय '**निरुक्त**' की अपनी वृत्ति की भूमिका में देवताओं के नाम, आकार चिन्तनादि विषयों का विवेचन ही '**निरुक्त**' का विषय मानते हैं।[४] वेदों के प्रमुख भाष्यकार आचार्य सायण ने भी '**ऋग्वेदभाष्य-भूमिका**' में अर्थावबोध को ही शब्दों के निर्वचन का उद्देश्य माना है[५] और वेदार्थबोध के लिए **निरुक्त** को उपयुक्त बताया है।[६] उपनिषदों में तो **निरुक्त** को स्पष्टत: 'देवविद्या' शब्द से अभिहित किया जाने लगा था। यथा '**छान्दोग्योपनिषद्**' में प्रयुक्त 'देवविद्या' शब्द का अर्थ स्वामी शंकराचार्य ने '**निरुक्तम्**' किया है।[७] **महाभारत**कार महर्षि वेदव्यास ने भी देवशास्त्र का तत्त्वार्थबोध कराना निर्वचन का प्रधान प्रयोजन स्वीकार किया है।[८] अत: वैदिक पदों के अर्थावबोध के साथ-साथ निर्वचन देवताओं के यथार्थ स्वरूप को स्पष्ट करने का प्रमुख साधन है। आचार्य यास्क ने **निरुक्त** में देवताओं का स्वरूप-निरूपण उनके नामों के निर्वचन से किया है। निर्वचन करते समय उन्होंने देवताओं के अधियज्ञीय, आधिदैविक, आधिभौतिक आदि समग्र रूपों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए देवनामों का निर्वचन किया है। यास्क के मत में सब

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२. **वही**, २.१ : अर्थो नित्यः परीक्षेत।

३. **दुर्गवृत्ति, नि०**, २.१ : अपिहितस्य अर्थस्य परोक्षवृत्तौ अतिपरोक्षवृत्तौ च शब्दे निष्कृष्य विगृह्य वचनं निर्वचनम्।

४. यास्कीय **निरुक्त** पर दुर्गवृत्ति की भूमिका, पृ० ४ : देवतानामाकारचिन्तनभक्तिसाहचर्यसंस्तवकर्मसूक्तभाक्त्वहविर्भाक्त्वव्यञ्जनभाक्त्वानि पृथिव्यन्तरिक्षद्युस्थानदेवतानामभिधेयाभिधानव्युत्पत्तिप्राधान्यस्तुत्युदाहरणं तन्निर्वचनविचारोपपत्त्यवधारणानुक्रमेण व्याख्याय दैवतप्रकरणनिर्णयः। विद्यापारप्राप्त्युपायोपदेशो मन्त्रार्थनिर्वचनद्वारेण। देवताभिधाननिर्वचनफलं देवतातादुभाव्यमित्येष समासतो निरुक्तशास्त्रचिन्ताविषयः।

५. **ऋग्भाष्यभूमिका**, पृ० २८ : अर्थावबोधे निरपेक्षतया पदजातं यत्रोक्तं तन्निरुक्तम्।

६. **वही**, पृ० २९ : .... यस्मात् वेदार्थावबोधायोपयुक्तं निरुक्तम्।

७. **शांकरभाष्य, छा० उप०**, ७.१.२ : .... देवविद्यां निरुक्तम्।

८. **महा० भा०**, द्रोणपर्व, १४.४२ :

नामधातु-विकल्पानां तत्त्वार्थनियमाय च।
सर्ववेदनिरुक्तानां निरुक्तमृषिभिः कृतम्॥

देवता एक ही आत्मा की विभिन्न विभूतियाँ हैं; अग्नि, इन्द्र आदि विभिन्न नाम तो उनके पृथक्-पृथक् कर्म के कारण पड़े हैं।[९]

वैदिक ऋषियों ने संहिताओं में स्थल-स्थल पर शब्दों का निर्वचन प्रदान किया है, जिससे उनके अर्थबोध में कठिनाई नहीं होती। वैदिक मन्त्रों में कतिपय देववाचक शब्दों के निर्वचन भी मिलते हैं, जिनमें देवताओं के यथार्थ स्वरूप को स्पष्ट किया गया है। उनके सम्यक् विश्लेषण से उनके स्वरूप का यथार्थ ज्ञान हो जाता है।

'अथर्वसंहिता' में भी यह शैली प्राप्त होती है। इस संहिता में उपलब्ध निर्वचनों की शैली का उत्तरोत्तर विकास ब्राह्मण-ग्रन्थों में दिखाई पड़ता है। अतः इससे स्पष्ट है कि वैदिक शब्दों के अर्थनिर्धारण के लिए निर्वचन-शैली एक पद्धति के रूप में उभरती चली गई। इस संहिता में कतिपय देवविषयक निर्वचन उपलब्ध होते हैं, जिनसे तत्तद्देवताओं का यथार्थ स्वरूप स्पष्ट हो जाता है। इनमें अर्चिस्, क, जातवेदस्, पुरुष, पृथ्वी, भग, मरुत्, रोहित, वात, विश्वम्भर, सवितृ, सूर्य, हरस् आदि प्रमुख हैं। इनका विस्तृत विवेचन इस प्रकार है :—

अर्चिस्

यह शब्द √अर्च् (पूजा करना, अर्च पूजायाम्, मा० X. 202) से निरुक्त है : "अग्ने यत्तेऽर्चिस्तेन तं प्रत्यर्च" (अथर्व० २.१९.३)। इससे स्पष्ट है कि इस शब्द के मूल में अर्च् धातु है, जिसका अर्थ है—पूजा करना। अपनी ज्वलनशक्ति के कारण ही अग्नि पूजनीय है। अतः ज्वलनशीलगुण के कारण पूजनीय प्रज्वलित अग्नि के लिए अर्चिस् विशेषण प्रयुक्त किया गया। यदि स्वर की दृष्टि से विचार किया जाय तो इस शब्द के प्रत्ययांश पर उदात्त स्वर है।[१०] यह शब्द 'इस्' प्रत्यय के संयोग से निष्पन्न है।[११] संस्कृत √अर्च् (धातु) के पर्याय अन्य भारोपीय भाषाओं में भी मिलते हैं। तुलनीय-संस्कृत √अर्च्; भारोपीय erk̂ (उच्च स्वर से बोलना); आर्मेनियन erĝ (उच्चस्वर से बोलना; गीत)।

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९. नि०, ७.४ : महाभाग्याद्देवताया एक एव आत्मा बहुधा स्तूयत एकस्यात्मनोऽन्ये देवाः प्रत्यङ्गानि भवन्ति।

१०. पा० अ०, ३.१.३ : आद्युदात्तश्च।

११. उणादि, २, ११०।

क

'क:' (प्रजापति) को अनिरुक्तस्वरूप होने से 'किम्' से और सुखस्वरूप होने से √कम् (कमु कान्तौ, मा० I.२९५) से निष्पन्न माना गया है : "क इदं कस्मा अदात् कामः कामायादात्। कामो दाता कामः प्रतिग्रहीता कामः समुद्रमाविवेश। कामेन त्वा प्रति गृह्णामि कामैतत् ते।" (**अथर्व० ३.२९.७**)। प्रस्तुत मन्त्र में आए हुए 'कस्मा' और 'कामः' पदों से स्पष्टतः यह संकेतित है कि अनिर्वचनीयता के कारण सदा प्रश्नचिह्न से युक्त (प्रश्नवाचक) 'क' संज्ञा वाला देव प्रजापति ही है, जो सुखस्वरूप है तथा सबको सुख प्रदान करने वाला है। अन्य वैदिक ग्रन्थों में भी यह शब्द 'किम्' और 'कम्' (सुखात्मक) से निरुक्त है। तुलनीय—को नामासीति प्रजापतिर्वै को नाम (**काठ० सं०. १३८.५**); कं वै प्रजापतिः प्रजाभ्यः (**शत० ब्रा०** २.५.२.१३; ७.३.१.२०); प्रजापतिरब्रवीदथ कोऽहमिति यदेवैतदवोच इत्यब्रवीत् ततो वै को नाम प्रजापतिरभवत्को वै नाम प्रजापतिः (**ऐ० ब्रा० ३.२१**); क इदं कस्मा अदाद् इत्याह। प्रजापतिर्वै कः स प्रजापतये ददाति (**तै० ब्रा०** २.२.५.५.); सुखं वै कम् (**गो० ब्रा० २.६.३**); कं० ब्रह्म खं ब्रह्म (**छा० उप० ४.१०.५**)। **निरुक्तकार** यास्क ने भी इस शब्द को √ कम् से निष्पन्न माना है।[१२] वेदभाष्यकार सायण ने भी इस शब्द का भाष्य करते समय परम्परा का अनुसरण किया है।[१३] **जैमिनीय-उपनिषद्-ब्राह्मण**' में प्राण को ही 'क' नाम से अभिहित किया गया है।[१४] अन्य वैदिक-ग्रन्थों में भी प्रजापति को 'क' माना गया है।[१५] सम्भवतः इन सभी निर्वचनों का आधार संहिता है। अतः उपर्युक्त निर्वचनों से यह पुष्ट हो जाता है कि अनिर्वचनीय स्वरूप वाले, विश्व के प्राणात्मक सूत्रात्मा, सुखात्मक प्रजापति देव ही 'क' नाम से जाने जाते हैं। महाभाष्यकार पतञ्जलि ने भी 'कस्येत्' (**अष्टा० ४.२.२५**) सूत्र के अपने

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१२. **नि०, १०.२२ :** कः कमनो वा क्रमणो वा सुखो वा।

१३. सायणभाष्य, **ऋ०**, १६.१२१.१; **अथर्व०**, २.१.५: अत्र किं शब्दोऽनिर्ज्ञातस्वरूपत्वात् प्रजापतौ वर्तते यद्वा कं सुखम्। तद्रूपत्वात् क इत्युच्यते; कम् सुखात्मकं ब्रह्म।

१४. **जै० उप० ब्रा०**, ४.११.२.४ : प्राणो वाव कः।

१५. **तै० सं०**, १.६.८.५; ७.६.६ : **प्रजापतिर्वै कः । तुलनीय-मै०**, १.१०.१०; **ऐ० ब्रा०**, २.३८; ६.२१; **गो० ब्रा०** २.१.२२; **ताण्ड्०ब्रा०**, ७.८.३, **शत० ब्रा०**, ६.४.३.४; **जै० उ० ब्रा०**, ३.१.२.१०; **काठ० सं०**, ३६.५।

भाष्य में प्रजापति को ही 'क' माना है।[१६]

स्वर की दृष्टि से विचार करने पर 'क' शब्द सामान्यत: कर्त्ता अर्थ में 'ड' प्रत्यय[१७] के संयोग से निष्पन्न होने के कारण उदात्तस्वर से युक्त है, जो प्रत्ययांश पर है।[१८] इसलिए प्रत्यय की प्रधानता है। अत: स्वर से भी यह स्पष्ट है कि कर्तृत्व की प्रधानता होने के कारण सबके सुख की कामना करने वाला 'क' संज्ञक देव प्रजापति है।

<u>जातवेदस्</u>

यह शब्द √जन् (जनी प्रादुर्भावे, मा० IX.43) एवं √ विद् (विद् ज्ञाने, मा० II. ६९) से निष्पन्न माना गया है : (i) "यत्रैषामग्ने जनिमानि वेत्थ गुहा सतामत्रिणां जातवेद:" (**अथर्व०, १.८.४**); (ii) "काव्येन केन जातेनासि जात-वेदा:" (**तदेव,** ५.११.२); (iii) "काव्येन सत्यं जातेनास्मि जातवेदा:" (**तदेव,** ५.११.३)। यद्यपि द्वितीय एवं तृतीय निर्वचन में विद् धातु स्पष्टत: संकेतित नहीं है तथापि इससे पूर्व एवम् अवर ग्रन्थों में उपलब्ध इस शब्द के निर्वचन से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि यह शब्द √ विद् (ज्ञाने) धातु से निष्पन्न है। तुलनीय—आदेवे जने जातवेदा: (**ऋ०** २.४.१); जन्मन्जन्मन्निहितो जातवेदा: (**तदेव,** ३.१.२०); विश्वा वेद जनिमा जातवेदा: (**तदेव, ६.१५.१३**); यत्तज्जात: पशून् अविन्दतेति तज्जातवेदसो जातवेदस्त्वमिति (**मै० सं०** १.८.२); तद्यज्जातं जातं विदन्ते तस्माज्जातवेदा : (**शत० ब्रा० ९.५.१.६८**); प्राणो वै जातवेदा: स हि जातानां वेद (**ऐ० ब्रा०** २.३९); सोऽब्रवीज्जाता वै प्रजा अनेनाविदमिति यदब्रवीज्जाता वै प्रजा अनेनाविदमिति तज्जातावेदस्यमभवत्तज्जातवेदसो जातवेदस्त्वम् (**तदेव, ३.३६**)। आचार्य यास्क ने भी इस शब्द का अनेक प्रकार से निर्वचन किया है।[१९] एतदर्थ 'निरुक्त' पर भाष्य भी

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१६. **पा० अ०** ४.२.२५ पर **महाभाष्य,** सर्वस्य हि सर्वनामसंज्ञा क्रियते-सर्वश्च प्रजापति: प्रजापतिश्च क:।

१७. उणादि, १.११५ : क्वादिभ्य: कित्।

१८. **पा० अ०,** ३.१.३ : आद्युदात्तश्च।

१९. **नि०,** ७.१९ : जातानि वेद, जातानि वैनं विदु:, जाते जाते विद्यते इति वा, जातवित्तो वा, जातधनो वा, जातविद्यो वा, जातप्रज्ञानो वा।

द्रष्टव्य हैं।[२०] आचार्य सायण ने भी संहिता का अनुसरण करते हुए अपने 'अथर्वभाष्य' में इस शब्द को जात+ √ विद् (ज्ञाने) तथा √विद् (लाभे) से निष्पन्न माना है।[२१]

उपर्युक्त निर्वचनों से यह स्पष्ट है कि सम्पूर्ण जीवों में जठराग्नि रूप में विद्यमान अग्नि जातवेदस् है तथा वही अग्निरूप में विद्यमान पार्थिव-अग्नि भी है। स्वर की दृष्टि से विचार करने पर यह शब्द 'अस्' प्रत्यय से निष्पन्न है, अतः यहाँ पूर्वपद में प्रकृति-स्वर होना चाहिए,[२२] परन्तु पाद के मध्य में होने से संहिता में सर्वानुदात्त है, जिससे यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि यह पद सम्बोधन है।[२३] अतः अग्नि का विशेषण है।

पुरुष

इस शब्द का निर्वचन '**अथर्ववेद**' में ''पुरं यो ब्रह्मणो वेद यस्याः पुरुष उच्यते'' (**अथर्व०** १०.२.२८) प्राप्त होता है। यद्यपि यहाँ इस शब्द का निर्वचन स्पष्ट नहीं है तथापि ब्रह्मा के पुर को अर्थात् शरीर से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले जीवात्मा (आत्मा) को जानने वाले को ही पुरुष कहा जाता है, यह बात इस निर्वचन से स्पष्ट है। ब्राह्मण-ग्रन्थों में इस शब्द का और स्फुट निर्वचन किया गया है, जिससे यह बात और भी स्पष्ट हो जाती है। **अथर्वसंहिता** के '**गोपथ-ब्राह्मण**' में स्पष्टतः पुर् अर्थात् शरीर (देह) में शयन करने या उससे सम्बन्ध रखने से प्राणरूप आत्मा को ही पुरुष कहा गया है।[२४] अन्यत्र '**शतपथ-ब्राह्मण**[२५], '**निरुक्त**'[२६], उपनिषद् आदि[२७] ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त इस शब्द का

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२०. तुलनीय, **नि० भा०**, स्कन्दस्वामी : भूतजाते विद्यते, जातवित्तो वा, जातविद्यो वा।
तुलनीय, **नि०** पर दुर्गवृत्ति : जाते जाते सर्वस्मिन् भूतजाते विद्यते, जातं विदो, स हि जातानि वेद, जातानि वा एनं विदुः।

२१. सायणभाष्य, **अथर्व०**, ३.१.१ : जातानां प्राणिनां वेदिता सर्वज्ञोऽयमग्निः।
सायणभाष्य, **तदेव**, ४.२३.४ : यद्वा जातानि भूतजातानि एनं विन्दन्तीति जातवेदाः।

२२. उणादि, ४.२२८ : गतिकारकोपपदयोः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वञ्च।

२३. **पा० अ०**, ८.१.१९ : आमन्त्रितस्य च।

२४. **गो० ब्रा०**, १.३९ : प्राण एष स पुरि शेते तं पुरिशेत इति पुरिशयं सन्तं प्राणं पुरुष इत्याचक्षते।

२५. **शत० ब्रा०**, १४.५.५.१८ : अयं पुरुषः सर्वासु पूर्षु पुरिशयः।

२६. **नि०**, २.३ : पुरुषः पुरिषादः पुरिशयः पूरयतेर्वा।

२७. **प्रश्नोप०**, ५.५ : स एतस्माज्जीवघनात् परात्परं पुरिशयं पुरुषमीक्षते।

निर्वचन इस बात की पुष्टि करता है। भाष्यकार आचार्य सायण ने भी अपने **अथर्ववेदभाष्य** में परम्परानुसार ही इस शब्द का निर्वचन किया है।[२८] सम्भवत: परवर्ती ग्रन्थों में '**अथर्ववेद**' में उपलब्ध निर्वचन के आधार पर इस शब्द का निर्वचन किया गया है। '**महाभारत**' में प्रदत्त इस शब्द का निर्वचन इस बात का प्रमाण है।[२९] स्वर की दृष्टि से यह शब्द आद्युदात्त है और उदात्त स्वर बहुव्रीहि समास होने के कारण पूर्वपद 'पुर्' में है।[३०] अत: 'पुर्' पद की प्रधानता होने के कारण भी यह बात द्योतित होती है कि पुर् से सम्बन्ध रखने वाला पुरुष है।

पृथिवी

यह शब्द यहाँ √प्रथ् (धातु) (फैलना, प्रथ प्रख्याने, मा० I. ५००) से निरुक्त किया गया है : "पृथिवी नः प्रथतां राध्यतां नः" (**अथर्व०** १२.१.२)। प्रस्तुत निर्वचन में प्रयुक्त क्रिया पद 'प्रथताम्' से स्पष्ट है कि प्रथित या विस्तीर्ण होने के कारण पृथिवी को '**पृथिवी**' कहा जाता है। सायण ने भी इस स्थल पर भाष्य करते हुए इस शब्द का निर्वचन—'पृथिवीं प्रथितां विस्तीर्णां भूमिम्' (सायणभाष्य) किया है। अन्यत्र संहिता[३१]

बृह० उप०, २.५.१८ : स वा अयं पुरुषः सर्वासु पूर्षु पुरिशयो नैनेन किञ्चनानावृतं नैनेन किञ्चनासंवृतम्।

तु०, **कठ० उप०**, २.३.१७ : अङ्गुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषोऽन्तरात्मा, सदा जनानां हृदये सन्निविष्टः।

प्रश्नोप०, ६.२ : इहैवान्तः शरीरे सोम्य स पुरुषो यस्मिन्नेताः षोडशकलाः प्रभवन्तीति।

तै० उप०, १.६ : स य एषोऽन्तर्हृदय आकाशः तस्मिन्नयं पुरुषो मनोमयः अमृतो हिरण्मयः।

२८. सायणभाष्य, **अथर्व०**, १९.६.१ : पुरि देहे शेते इति पुरुषः।

२९. **महाभारत**, १२, २१०.३७ : नवद्वारं पुरं पुण्यमेतैर्भावैःसमन्वितम्।
व्याप्तं शेते महानात्मा तस्मात् पुरुष उच्यते॥

३०. **पा० अ०**, ६.२०.१ : बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्।

३१. **ऋ०**, २.१५.२ : स (इन्द्रो) धारयत् पृथिवीं प्रपथञ्च; **तदेव**, ६.७२.२ : अप्रथतं पृथिवीं मातरं वा; **तदेव**, ८.८९.५ : तत्पृथिवीमप्रथयः;
तदेव, १०.६२.३ : प्रथयन्पृथिवीं मातरम्; **तदेव**, ५.८७.७ : दीर्घः पृथुप्रपथे सद्म पार्थिवम्।
तै० सं०, २.१.२.३ : अप्रथत् पृथिवीम्; **तदेव**, ७.१.५.१ : साऽप्रथत् सा पृथिव्यभवत् तत्पृथिव्यै पृथिवीत्वम्।

ब्राह्मण[३२], **निरुक्त** आदि ग्रन्थों[३३] में भी पृथ्वी के इसी गुण को दृष्टि में रखकर इसका निर्वचन किया गया है। अतः 'पृथिवी' पृथ्वीस्थानीय देवता माना जाता है। स्वर की दृष्टि से यह पद अन्तोदात्त है, क्योंकि 'षिवन्' प्रत्यय से निष्पन्न होने के कारण 'नित्' है और आद्युदात्तत्व की प्राप्ति होती है[३४], परन्तु शिष्टस्वर बलवान् होने से[३५] 'ङीष्' प्रत्ययांश पर उदात्त स्वर है।[३६] भारोपीय-भाषा परिवार में भी संस्कृत √ प्रथ् के पर्याय इसी अर्थ में उपलब्ध होते हैं। तुलनीय-संस्कृत √ प्रथ्; भारोपीय* pḷt या* plet (विस्तृत); ग्रीक Platūs; लिथुआनियन Platūs (विस्तृत)।

भग

(धन का अधिष्ठाता देव)। इस शब्द का निर्वचन '**अथर्वसंहिता**' में "भग एव भगवाँ अस्तु देवस्तेना वयं भगवन्तः स्याम" (**अथर्व०** ३.१६.५) इस रूप में मिलता है। यद्यपि शब्द में धातु स्पष्ट नहीं है, तथापि 'भगवन्तः' शब्द से यह स्पष्ट है कि यह शब्द √ भज् (धातु) (विश्राणन, देना, भज विश्राणने, मा० x. १७६) से निष्पन्न है, जिसका अर्थ है—ऐश्वर्य देने वाला। अतः यह द्योतित होता है कि ऐश्वर्यवान् होने के कारण 'भग' को ऐश्वर्य के अधिष्ठाता देव के रूप में प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त हुई। आचार्य सायण ने भी अथर्वभाष्य में इस शब्द को √ भज् (धातु) से निष्पन्न माना है।[३७], **ऋग्वेद**[३८], '**निरुक्त**'[३९] एवं ब्राह्मण-ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त इस शब्द के निर्वचन से भी इसकी पुष्टि होती

काठ० सं०, ८.२; जैमि०, ३.३१८ : यदप्रथत् तत्पृथिवी; तदेव, ३१.१४ : सा प्रपथे पृथिवीं पार्थिवाय।

३२. **शत० ब्रा०**, ६.१.१५;३.७: तामप्रथयत् सा पृथिव्यभवत्।
तै० ब्रा०, १.१.३.६-७; तत् पुष्करपर्णेऽप्रथत् यद् अप्रथयत् तत् पृथिव्यै पृथिवित्वम्।

३३. **नि०**, १.१३ : प्रथनात् पृथिवीत्याहुः; तु०, **नि० भा०**, स्कन्दमहेश्वरः प्रथनात् पृथिवी इति; दयानन्दभाष्य, उणादि०, १.१५०: प्रथते विस्तीर्णा भवतीति पृथिवी।

३४. **पा० अ०**, ६.१.१९७: ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम्।

३५. **पा० वा०**, ६.१.१५८ : सति शिष्टस्वरबलीयस्त्वमन्यत्र विकरेण इति वाच्यम्।

३६. **पा० अ०**, ३.१.३ : आद्युदात्तश्च।

३७. सायणभाष्य, **अथर्व०**, १.२६.२ : भजनीय भाग्यस्य प्रदाता देवः।

३८. **ऋ०**, ७.४१.५ : भग एव भगवाँ अस्तु देवस्तेन वयं भगवन्तः स्याम।

३९. **नि०** १.७ : भगो भजते।

है।[४०] पुराणों में 'भग' शब्द से षड्विध ऐश्वर्य का उल्लेख किया गया है।[४१] यही कारण है कि षड्विध ऐश्वर्य सम्पन्न होने के कारण नारायण को एवम् उनके अवतारी महापुरुषों को भगवान् कहा जाता है।

स्वर की दृष्टि से यह शब्द √ भज् + घञ् से निष्पन्न होने के कारण आद्युदात्त है।[४२] उदात्तस्वर √ भज् (धातु) पर है, अतः यहाँ स्वर से भी यह स्पष्ट है कि इस शब्द में √ भज् के अर्थ की प्रधानता है। संस्कृत √ भज् का पर्याय भारोपीय भाषा में* bhag (बाँटना) के रूप में मिलता है। सम्भवतः ऐश्वर्य को बाँटने के कारण इसका अधिष्ठाता देव 'भग' के रूप में प्रसिद्ध हुआ।

मरुत्

'अथर्वसंहिता' में इस शब्द का निर्वचन "यूयमुग्रा मरुत ईदृशे स्थाभि प्रेत मृणत सहध्वम्। अमीमृणन् वसवो नाथिता"—(३.१.२) ऐसा उपलब्ध होता है। इस मन्त्र में आए हुए 'मृणतः' एवं 'अमीमृणन्' पदों से स्पष्ट है कि मारकगुणविशिष्ट होने के कारण इस देव का नाम मरुत् पड़ा। अतः यह शब्द हिंसार्थक √ मृ (मारना, मङ् प्राणत्यागे, मा० VI.१०७) से निष्पन्न है। **अथर्ववेद** का भाष्य करते समय संहिता को आधार मानकर इस शब्द का निर्वचन सायण ने भी हिंसार्थक √ मृ (धातु) से ही किया है।[४३] दयानन्द सरस्वती ने भी अपने उणादिभाष्य में ऐसा ही निर्वचन प्रदान किया है।[४४] क्योंकि प्राणवायु (मरुत्) का निष्क्रमण ही प्राणियों के मृत्यु का कारण है, सम्भवतः इसी कारण इसका नाम मरुत् पड़ा। उपर्युक्त प्रसंग में स्वर की दृष्टि से यह पद सर्वानुदात्त है[४५]; अतः सम्बोधन पद है और संज्ञापद होने के कारण देव विशेष का नाम है।

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४०. **तै० ब्रा०, ३.१.९.८** : भगो ह दाता भग इति प्रदाता।

४१. **विष्णु पु०, ६.५.७४ : ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य धर्मस्य यशसः श्रियः।**
ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव षण्णां भग इतीरणा॥

४२. **पा० अ०, ६.१.१९७** : ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम्।

४३. सायणभाष्य, **अथर्व.,** २०.१.२ : म्रियन्ते प्राणिन एभिरिति मरुतः।

४४. दयानन्दभाष्य, **उणादि,** १.९४ : म्रियते मारयति वा स मरुत् पवनो वा।

४५. **पा० अ०, ८.१.१९** : आमन्त्रितस्य च।

रोहित

'**अथर्ववेद**' में इस शब्द का निर्वचन स्पष्टतः √ रुह् (उत्पन्न होना, रुह बीजजन्मनि प्रादुर्भावे च, मा० I.५८९) से किया गया है : "स ह द्यामधिरोहति रुहो रुरोह रोहितः" (**अथर्व०, १३.३.२६**); "रोहितो दिवमारुहन् महतः पर्यर्णवात्। सर्वा रुरोह रोहितो रुहः" (**वही, १३.१.४**)। प्रस्तुत निर्वचनों से यह स्पष्ट है कि प्रादुर्भूत होकर द्युलोक में चढ़ने वाला देव कोई अन्य नहीं अपितु रोहित है, जो सूर्य अथवा आदित्य के नाम से भी जाना जाता है। सम्भवतः '**अथर्वसंहिता**' के आधार पर '**तैत्तिरीय-ब्राह्मण**' में भी इस शब्द का ऐसा ही निर्वचन किया गया है।[४६] '**ऐतरेय-ब्राह्मण**' में भी यह शब्द 'रोहण' क्रिया के कारण ही √ रुह् (धातु) से निरुक्त है, परन्तु यहाँ इसका अर्थ 'रोहित' नाम का छन्द किया गया है, जिससे इन्द्र सात स्वर्गों पर चढ़े थे।[४७]

स्वर की दृष्टि से भी 'रोहित' शब्द √ रुह् से 'इतन्' प्रत्यय लगाकर निष्पन्न है[४८] और प्रत्यय के नित् होने से आद्युदात्त है[४९] तथा उदात्त-स्वर √ रुह् (धातु) पर है। इससे भी द्योतित होता है कि इस शब्द में रोहण (प्रादुर्भूत होना) क्रिया की प्रधानता है। अतः द्यु लोक में उत्पन्न होकर चढ़ने के कारण इनका नाम रोहित पड़ा और द्युस्थानीय देवविशेष के रूप में प्रसिद्ध हुए। √ रुह् (धातु) के पर्याय भारोपीय भाषा-परिवार में भी उपलब्ध है। तुलनीय-संस्कृति √ रुह्; भारोपीय* leud (उत्पन्न होना, अंकुरित होना); गोथिक liudan (to grow, बढ़ना, उत्पन्न होना)।

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वात

'वात' शब्द के निर्वचन यहाँ √ वा (गति, वा गतिगन्धनयोः, मा० II. ५३) से मिलते हैं : "न भूमिं वातो अति वाति नाति पश्यति कश्चन" (**अथर्व० ४.५.२**);

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४६. **तै० ब्रा०,** २.५.२.१ : रोहं रोहं रोहति आरुरोह।

४७. **ऐ० ब्रा०,** २२.५ : रोहितं वै नामैत्तच्छन्दो यत्पारुच्छेपमेतेन वा इन्द्र सप्त स्वर्गांल्लो-कानरोहत्।

४८. **उणादि, ३, ९४** : रुहे रश्च लो वा (**स्वरमञ्जरी,** पृ० ८४, रुहे वृद्धिश्च, रुहेश्च)।

४९. **पा० अ०, ६.१.१९७** : ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम्; फिट्सूत्र (२.३४) से भी वर्णवाची तान्त पद आद्युदात्त होते हैं (वर्णानां तणनितितान्तानाम्)। रोहिंतः। लोहितंः। हरित।

"वाता वान्तु दिशो दिश:" (**वही**, ४.१५.८); "वातु वात:" (**वही**, ४.१५.१६); "न्य१ग् वातो वाति न्य१क् तपति सूर्य:" (**वही**, ६.९१.२)। इन निर्वचनों में प्रयुक्त 'वाति', 'वान्तु' और वातु क्रिया पदों से स्पष्ट है कि निरन्तर गतिशील होने के कारण पवन देव का नाम वात है। सम्भवत: **निरुक्तकार** आचार्य यास्क ने भी संहिता को आधार मान कर इस शब्द का निर्वचन √ वा (धातु) से ही किया है।[५०] आचार्य सायण ने भी अथर्वभाष्य में इसका परम्परानुसार निर्वचन किया है।[५१]

स्वर की दृष्टि से यह शब्द 'तन्' प्रत्यय के योग से निष्पन्न[५२] होने के कारण नित् है, अत: आद्युदात्त है।[५३] अत: √ वा (धातु) पर उदात्त स्वर होने से धात्वर्थ की प्रधानता है और गतिशीलता के कारण 'वात' कहलाया। संस्कृत √ वा का पर्याय भारोपीय-भाषा परिवार में भी इसी अर्थ में मिलता है। तुलनीय-भारोपीय* u̯e (वायु चलना); लैटिन vejas (वायु); अवेस्ता vāta (वायु); लैटिन ventus (वायु)।

विश्वंभर

यह शब्द '**अथर्वसंहिता**' में विश्व+भर (√ भृञ् भरणपोषण करना, डुभृञ् धारणपोषणयो:, धा० III. ७) से निरुक्त है : "विश्वम्भर विश्वेन मा भरसा पाहि" (२.१६.५)। प्रस्तुत निर्वचन से स्पष्ट है कि सम्पूर्ण प्राणियों का भरण-पोषण के द्वारा रक्षा करने वाला देव 'विश्वम्भर' शब्द से अभिहित है। यहाँ यह बात अवधेय है कि सभी प्राणियों के उदर में जठराग्नि के रूप में विद्यमान अग्नि ही भुक्त पदार्थों को जीर्ण कर सब जीवों का पोषण करता है। अत: अधिभौतिक जठराग्नि ही 'विश्वम्भर' शब्द से वाच्य है और उसका विशेषण है। '**बृहदारण्यक**' में प्राप्त इस शब्द का निर्वचन भी इसी बात का संकेत करता है।[५४] सम्भवत: संहिता के आधार पर अथर्वभाष्य में आचार्य

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५०. **नि०**, १०.३४ : वातो वातीति सत:; तु०, **नि० भा०**, स्कन्दस्वामी: वातो वातीति सत:; **निघ० भा०**, देवराजयज्वा: वाति वात:; दयानन्दभाष्य, उणादि०, ३.८.६ : वातीति वात: वायुर्वा व्याधिर्वा।

५१. सायणभाष्य, **अथर्व०**, १.१५.१ : वाता: गमनशीला वायव:।

५२. **उणादि०**, ३.८६ : हसिमृग्रिण्वामिदमिलूपूधूर्विभ्यस्तन्।

५३. **पा० अ०**, ६.१.१९७ : ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम्।

५४. **बृह० आ०**, १.४.७ : क्षुर: क्षुरधानेऽवहित: स्याद् विश्वम्भरो वा विश्वंभर-कुलाये।

सायण द्वारा प्रदत्त इस शब्द का निर्वचन इस बात को और स्पष्ट कर देता है।[५५] **'शतपथ-ब्राह्मण'** में भी यह शब्द भरण-पोषण अर्थवाली √ भृञ् (धातु) से निरुक्त है।[५६]

प्रस्तुत प्रसंग में स्वर की दृष्टि से विचार करने पर बहुव्रीहि समास होने के कारण "बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्" (पा० अ० ६.२.१) से इस शब्द के पूर्वपद 'विश्व' में प्रकृतिस्वरत्व की प्राप्ति होती है और 'विश्व' शब्द √ अश् (अशु व्याप्तौ संघाते च, मा० V. १९) से 'क्वन्' प्रत्यय[५७] के योग से निष्पन्न होने से आद्युदात्त है। अतः पूर्वपद में उदात्त स्वर के कारण पूर्वपद की प्रधानता है और इससे यह ध्वनित होता है कि 'विश्व' अर्थात् सबका पोषण करने वाला देवविशेष ही 'विश्वम्भर' है।

शोचिस्

संहिता में यह शब्द √ शुचिर् (पवित्र करना, ईशुचिर् पूतिभावे, मा० IV. ५८) से निरुक्त है : "अग्ने यत्ते शोचिस्तेन तं प्रतिशोच" **(अथर्व०, २.१९.४)**। प्रस्तुत मन्त्रांशगत 'प्रतिशोच' पद से यह स्पष्ट है कि यह शब्द √ शुचिर् (धातु) से निष्पन्न है, जिसका अर्थ है—परिशोधन करना या पवित्र करना। क्योंकि अग्नि की ज्वालाएँ सभी को पूत करती हैं; अतः प्रदीप्त अग्नि ही 'शोचिस्' शब्द से अभिहित है। स्वर की दृष्टि से विचार करने पर भी यह शब्द अन्तोदात्त है, क्योंकि यह 'इस्' प्रत्यय[५८] के योग से निष्पन्न है और प्रत्यय का आद्यांश उदात्त है।[५९] अतः प्रत्ययांश की प्रधानता से संकेतित है कि इस शब्द में कर्त्तृत्व की प्रधानता है। स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती ने भी उणादि सूत्र के अपने भाष्य में इस शब्द का निर्वचन करते हुए इसका अर्थ प्रकाश भी किया है, जो अग्नि का ही गुण है।[६०] अतः स्पष्ट है कि अत्यधिक प्रदीप्त होने पर सबको पवित्र

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५५. सायणभाष्य, **अथर्व०**, २.१६.५ : विश्वं सर्वं प्राणिजातं बिभर्ति अनुप्रविष्य अशितपीतादि-पचनेन पोषयतीति विश्वंभरो जाठराग्निः।

५६. **शत० ब्रा०**, ६.४.२.१. : एष हीदं सर्वं बिभर्ति।

५७. **उणादि०**, १.११५ : अशूप्रुषिलटिकणिखटिविशिभ्यः क्वन्।

५८. **उणादि०**, **२.११०** : अर्चिशुचिहुसृपिछादिछर्दिभ्य इसिः।

५९. **पा० अ०**, ३.१.३ : आद्युदात्तश्च।

६०. दयानन्दभाष्य, **उणादि०**, २.११० : शोचति शोचयतीति शोचिः प्रकाशो वा।

करने वाले अग्नि को ही 'शोचिस्' कहा जाता है।

सवितृ

'**अथर्वसंहिता**' में यह शब्द दो प्रकार से निरुक्त किया गया है :

(1) √ सू (प्रेरित करना, षू प्रेरणे, मा० VI. ११३) धातु से : "स घा नो देवः सविता साविषदमृतानि भूरि" (**अथर्व०** ६.१.३); "निररणिं सविता साविषत् पदोः" (**वही**, १.१८.२) तथा (२) √ सूद् (क्षरण करना, षूदक्षरणे, मा० I.२१) धातु से : "सर्वं तद् वाचाप हन्मो वयं देवस्त्वा सविता सूदयतु" (**वही**, १.१८.३)। प्रस्तुत मन्त्रों में प्रयुक्त 'साविषत्' और 'सूदयतु' क्रियापदों से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि यह पद √ सू एवं √ सूद् (धातुओं) से निष्पन्न है, जिसका अर्थ प्रेरित करना है। अन्यत्र संहिताओं[६१], '**निरुक्त**',[६२] ब्राह्मण[६३] एवम् उपनिषद्[६४] आदि ग्रन्थों में भी यह शब्द प्रेरणार्थक √ सू (धातु) से निरुक्त है। आचार्य सायण ने भी अथर्वभाष्य में परम्परानुसार ही इस शब्द का निर्वचन किया है।[६५] अतः सभी का प्रेरयिता होने के कारण इसे सविता कहा जाता है। इसलिए मध्यम-स्थानीय अर्थात् अन्तरिक्ष में उदित होकर सभी को अपने-अपने कर्मों में प्रेरित करने वाला सवितृदेव ही सूर्य है।

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६१. **क०**, ५.८२.३ : सुवाति सविता भगः; **वही**, ५.८.२.९ : प्र च सुवाति सविता; **वही**, ५.८२.५: विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुरितानि परा सुव। यद् भद्रं तन्न आ सुव; द्रष्टव्य, **यजु०**, १०.३८ : सवितासि तस्य प्रसवः; **तै० सं०**, १.५.८.४ : तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यमित्याह प्रसूत्यै; **मै० सं०**, २.६.३ : अजा मल्हा सवित्रे प्रसवित्र; **वही**, १.१०.५ : सविता प्रासुवत् प्रजननाय; **तै० सं०**, २.१.६.३ : सवितारमेव स्वेन भागधेयेनोपधावति स एवास्मै सनिं प्रसुवति।

६२. **नि०**, १०.३१ : सविता सर्वस्य प्रसविता; तुलनीय-सविता वृष्टिप्रदानद्वारेण सर्वस्य प्रसविता (**नि० भा०**, स्कन्दस्वामी); सविता सर्वस्य भूतग्रामस्र्य प्रसविता उत्पादयितोदक-सम्प्रदानद्वारेण (**नि०**, दुर्गवृत्ति); सविता सर्वस्य प्रसविता प्रेरयिता (**नि० स०**, ब्रह्ममुनि)।

६३. **ताण्ड्य ब्रा०**, २.४.१५.२ : एताभिर्वै (रात्रिभिः) सविता सर्वस्य प्रसवमगच्छत्; **तै० ब्रा०**, ३.१.१.९ : दातारमद्य सविता विदेय यो नो हस्ताय नक्षत्राय प्रसुवाति यज्ञम्; तुल०—**जै० ब्रा०**, २.३७१; **जै० उप० ब्रा०**, ३.४.४.३; **शत० ब्रा०**, १.१.२.१७ : सविता वै देवानां प्रसविता; **कौ० ब्रा०**, ६.१४ : सविता वै प्रसविता; **काठ० संक०**, ४८-८९ : १; २ : यद्धि वै कल्याणं तदस्मै सविता प्रसवति नास्मै पापं सविता प्रसुवते यमेवं विद्वानुपनयते।

६४. **जै० उप०**, ३.४.४३ : सविता वै देवानां प्रसविता; **मै० उप०**, ६.७ : सवनात् सविता।

६५. सायणभाष्य, **अथर्व०**, १.२६.२ : सविता सर्वस्य प्राणिजातस्य प्रेरको देवः।

स्वर की दृष्टि से विचार करने पर यह शब्द 'तृच्' प्रत्यय से निष्पन्न है[६६]; अतः चित् होने के कारण अन्तोदात्त है[६७] और उदात्तस्वर प्रत्ययांश पर है। प्रत्यय पर उदात्तस्वर होने से प्रत्ययांश की प्रधानता है। अतः इससे भी शब्द में कर्तृत्व गुण की प्रधानता द्योतित होती है, जो नाम निर्धारण में सहायक है।

सूर्य

यह शब्द संहिता में सु + √ ईर् (प्रेरित करना, ईर गतौ पाचने च, मा० √ ईर् (प्रेरित करना, ईर गतौ पाचने च, मा० II.११) से निष्पन्न है : '' प्राणेन विश्वतोवीर्यं देवाः सूर्यं समैरयन्'' (अथर्व०, ३.३.१.७)। इस निर्वचन से स्पष्ट है कि भली भाँति प्रेरित करने वाला अथवा होने वाला सूर्य कहा जाता है। आचार्य सायण ने भी **'अथर्ववेद'** के अपने भाष्य में बहुधा निरुक्त करते हुए संहिता को आधार मानकर इस शब्द का एक निर्वचन सु + √ ईर् (धातु) से किया है।[६८] आचार्य यास्क ने भी इसके प्रेरक गुणविशेष के आधार पर इस शब्द का एक निर्वचन संहिता के अनुसार किया है।[६९] यहाँ यह बात अवधेय है कि सूर्य ही अपने प्रकाश से सभी प्राणियों को प्रेरित करता है अथवा स्वयं प्रकाश प्रवर्तन के लिए प्रेरित किया जाता है। अतः सूर्य द्युस्थानीय देवविशेष है, जो आदित्य और सविता के नाम से भी जाना जाता है। **'शतपथ-ब्राह्मण'** में अनेक स्थलों पर सूर्य के लिये आदित्य शब्द का प्रयोग मिलता है।[७०] 'सूर्यसिद्धान्त' में प्रसूति से सूर्य नाम पड़ा, ऐसा उल्लेख मिलता है।[७१] 'सूर्य' शब्द के पर्याय भारोपीय-भाषा

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६६. **उणादि०**, २.९६ : बहुलमन्यत्रापि।

६७. **पा० अ०**, ६.१.१६३ : चितः।

६८. सायणभाष्य, **अथर्व०**, १.३.५ : यद्वा सुष्ठु ईर्यते प्रकाशप्रवर्षणादिव्यापारेषु जगद्विधात्रा परमेश्वरेण प्रेर्यत इति सूर्यः।

६९. **नि०**, १२.१४ : सूर्यः सर्तेर्वा, सुवतेर्वा, स्वीयतेर्वा; तुल०-सूर्यं सरणात् सुवतेर्वा, स्वीयतेर्वा (**नि० भा०**, स्कन्दस्वामी); स्वीयतेर्वा सूर्यः (**नि०**, दुर्गवृत्ति); सुष्ठु सर्वदैवोदयास्तमयौ प्रति ईर्यते सूर्यः (**निघ० भा०**, देवराजयज्वा)।

७०. **शत० ब्रा०**, २.१.२.१८ : यथैवासौ सूर्यः एवम्। तेषामेव उद्यन्नेव वीर्यं क्षत्रमादत्त। तस्मादादित्यो नाम, यदेषा वीर्यं क्षत्रमादत्त। एतद् वा अनपराद्धं नक्षत्रं यत्सूर्यः; द्रष्ट०—**वही**, १४.३.१.२८; १४.३.२.८; ९.३.४.३२।

७१. **सूर्यसिद्धान्त, १२.१५ : हिरण्यगर्भो भगवानेषच्छन्दसि पठ्यते।**
आदित्यो ह्यादिभूतत्वात् प्रसूत्या सूर्य उच्यते॥

परिवार में भी मिलते हैं। तुलनीय भारोपीय* Suel ; **अवेस्ता** hvar, Xvar *(सूर्य)*; ग्रीक helios (सूर्य)।

हरस्

यह शब्द '**अथर्वसंहिता**' में √ हृ (हरण करना, हृञ् हरणे, मा० I.628) से निरुक्त है : " अग्ने यत्ते हरस्तेन तं प्रति हर" (२.१९.२)। प्रस्तुत निर्वचन से यह स्पष्ट है कि यहाँ हरण करने की शक्ति को 'हर' संज्ञा दी गई है, जो दोषादि का हरण करता है। आचार्य यास्क ने भी इस शब्द का निर्वचन √ हृ से किया है।[७२] आचार्य सायण ने भी भाष्य करते हुए '**अथर्वसंहिता**' ने इस शब्द का निर्वचन परम्परा के अनुसार ही किया है और इसका अर्थ—'हरणसामर्थ्य' माना है।[७३] अतः इन निर्वचनों से स्पष्ट है कि यहाँ 'हर' शब्द अग्नि-देवता के विशेषण के रूप में प्रयुक्त है, क्योंकि अग्नि अपने संहरण शक्ति से सभी को आत्मसात् कर लेता है। स्वर की दृष्टि से विचार करने पर इस शब्द में धात्वर्थ की प्रधानता है, क्योंकि यह शब्द 'असुन्' प्रत्यय से निष्पन्न[७४] होने के कारण आद्युदात्त है[७५] और उदात्तस्वर धात्वंश पर है। अतः धात्वर्थ की प्रधानता के कारण अग्नि विशेष को 'हर' संज्ञा दी गई है।

'**अथर्वसंहिता**' में आपतित उपर्युक्त निर्वचनों के सम्यक् विश्लेषण से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि वैदिक ऋषियों ने वेदमन्त्रों में तत्तद्देवताओं के विशिष्ट गुणों एवं कार्यों के अनुरूप उनके नाम-पदों का निर्वचन प्रदान कर उनके यथार्थ-स्वरूप को स्पष्ट किया है और यह भी संकेत किया है कि उन-उन देवताओं के नामों की कल्पना उनके गुण-विशेष अथवा कर्म विशेष के आधार पर की जाती रही है। '**बृहद्देवता**' में आचार्य शौनक के मत से स्वयं इस बात की पुष्टि हो जाती है।[७६]

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७२. नि०, ४१९ : हरो हरतेः।

७३. सायणभाष्य, अथर्व०, २.१९.२ : हरतीति हरः संहरणसामर्थ्यम्।

७४. उणादि०, ४.१९० : सर्वधातुभ्योऽसुन्।

७५. पा० अ०, ६.१.१९७ : ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम्।

७६. बृहद्दे०, १.२७ : सर्वाण्येतानि नामानि कर्मतस्त्वाह शौनकः।
आशीरूपं च वाच्यं च सर्वं भवति कर्मतः॥

महाकवि कालिदास के कुछ दुर्घट प्रयोग

लखवीर सिंह

पटियाला

The usage of some words, apparently contrary to Pāṇini's rules, found in Kālidāsa's works, have been discussed in this paper.

दुर्घट प्रयोगों से अभिप्राय है कि ऐसे प्रयोग जो कठिनता से व्युत्पन्न या शास्त्रानुमोदित किए जा सकते हों—दु:खेन घटयितुं साधयितुं वा शक्या: प्रयोगा: दुर्घटा:। ऐसे दुर्घट प्रयोगों की सिद्धि जब पाणिनीय सूत्रों द्वारा नहीं हो पाती तो उनकी सिद्धि के लिए विभिन्न कल्पनाएँ या ज्ञापकादि का सहारा लेना पड़ता है। कई तरह के योगविभागादि अन्य उपाय भी निकालने पड़ते हैं। तब कहीं उनकी सिद्धि होती है। फिर ये प्रयोग अपाणिनीय नहीं रहते।

इनमें सर्वप्रथम हम ''गिरिशमुपचचार प्रत्यहं सा सुकेशी''[१] इस श्लोकांश को लेते हैं। यहाँ ''गिरिश'' यह पद विचारणीय है, क्योंकि *''अधिकरणे शेते:''*[२] इस सूत्र के अनुसार यहाँ अधिकरण वाची ''गिरिश'' शब्द उपपद होने पर ''शीङ्'' धातु से

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१. द्र. कुमारसंभव १.६०, कालिदास ग्रंथावली (का-ग्रं०), सम्पा. रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी, काशीहिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, १९७६ पृ० ५१ कालिदास ने गिरिश शब्द का अन्यत्र भी बहुत्र प्रयोग किया है, तद्यथा-रघुवंश—२.४१, १६.५१

२. द्र. पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायी (पा.) श्रीधर शास्त्री द्वारा संपादित, भण्डारकर ओरियण्टल रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट, पूना, १९३५, सूत्र ३.२.१५.

''अच्'' प्रत्यय लेकर खशयः, पार्श्वशयः, पृष्ठशयः, उदरशयः, उत्तानशयः, अवमूर्धशयः इत्यादि के समान ''गिरिशयः'' यह रूप बनना चाहिए जो कि वर्तमान सूत्र व्याख्या के अनुसार सिद्ध नहीं होता। किन्तु ''गिरिश'' यह एक वैदिक शब्द भी है, तद्यथा— ''शिवेन वचसा त्वा गिरिशाच्छा वदामसि''[३] और वैदिक प्रयोग के लिए व्याकरण को दृष्टानुविधान करना ही पड़ता है जैसा कि भाष्य वचन भी है—''दृष्टानुविधिश्छन्दसि भवति''। स्मरण रहे कि वेद में ''गिरिशयः'' प्रयोग भी मिलता है, तद्यथा—''नमो गिरिशयाय शिपिविष्टाय च''[४]। किन्तु यह प्रयोग तो ''अधिकरणे शेतेः'' सूत्र से ही सिद्ध हो जाता है। अतः यह यहाँ विचार का विषय नहीं है।

ऐसी स्थिति में ''गिरिश'' इस दूसरे वैदिक प्रयोग को उपपन्न बनाने के लिए सर्वप्रथम वार्तिककार ने समाधान देते हुए कहा है—''**गिरौ डश् छन्दसि**''[५] अर्थात् ''गिरि'' उपपद होने पर ''शीङ्'' धातु से वेद में ''अच्'' प्रत्यय न करके ''ड'' प्रत्यय स्वीकार करना चाहिए। परिणामतः ''गिरि + शी + ड'' इस अवस्था में ''ड'' प्रत्यय के डित्व सामर्थ्य से ''भ'' संज्ञा न होने पर भी ''शीङ्'' धातु की ''टि'' ''ई'' का लोप होकर ''ड'' प्रत्यय का अकार मिलाने से ''गिरिश'' शब्द बन जाता है। प्रस्तुत संदर्भ में न्यासकार के अनुसार ''गिरौ डश् छन्दसि'' इस वार्तिक की आवश्यकता नहीं है, क्योंकि इनके अनुसार ''व्यत्ययो बहुलम्''[६] सूत्रस्थ बहुल ग्रहण से ही उपर्युक्त ''ड'' प्रत्यय सिद्ध हो जाता है,[७] किन्तु समस्या तब उत्पन्न होती है जब उक्त ''गिरिश'' शब्द केवल वेद में ही नहीं अपितु लोक में भी दृष्टिगोचर होता है जैसा कि कालिदास का उक्त श्लोकांश है। यह स्पष्ट है कि यहाँ ''गिरिश'' शब्द लौकिक है। ऐसी स्थिति में वार्तिककारोक्त समाधान से काम नहीं चलता, क्योंकि वह तो केवल छन्द अर्थात् वेद में ही प्रवृत्त हो सकता है। अतः उक्त प्रयोग को साधु बनाने के लिए पहला उपाय यह

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३. द्र. यजुर्वेद १६.४.

४. वही, १६.२९

५. पा. ३.२.१५ पर वार्तिक

६. पा. ३.१.८५

७. द्र. न्यास (न्यासपदमंजरी संहिताकाशिकावृत्ति)। भाग-२, द्वारिका प्रसाद शास्त्री तथा कालिका प्रसाद शुक्ल, प्राच्य भारतीय प्रकाशन, वाराणसी प्रथम संस्करण, १९६५, पृ० ५५३, ''एतत् सर्वं व्यत्ययो बहुलम् इति बहुलवचनात् सिद्धम्''।

हो सकता है कि महाकवि कालिदास का यह प्रयोग निरंकुश माना जाए, क्योंकि **पदमंजरी**कार के शब्दों में ''निरंकुशाः कवयः ''अथवा'' छन्दोवत् कवयः कुर्वन्ति'' ऐसा सिद्धान्त है। फिर भी यदि इस प्रयोग को सुसंगत बनाना ही है तो इसका दूसरा समाधान यह है कि ''गिरिश'' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति अन्य प्रकार से की जाए अर्थात् ''गिरिश'' शब्द को 'गिरौ शेते इति गिरिशः' ऐसा कृदन्त न मानकर 'गिरिरस्यास्ति इति गिरिशः' इस अर्थ में लोमादिगण में पठित मानकर उससे परे **''लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः''**[८] इस सूत्र से ''श'' प्रत्यय स्वीकार कर लिया जाए।[९] इस व्युत्पत्ति में ''शीङ्'' धातु स्वीकार न करके गिरि इस शब्द से ''श'' प्रत्यय माना गया है अर्थात् पहली व्युत्पत्ति में उक्त प्रयोग कृदन्त शब्द बनता था जबकि दूसरी व्युत्पत्ति में तद्धितान्त बनता है। स्पष्ट है कि उपर्युक्त *''लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः''* इस सूत्र में छन्द का ग्रहण नहीं है। इसलिए ''गिरिश'' यह शब्द भाषा में भी प्रवृत्त हो सकता है।[१०]

यद्यपि इस उक्त प्रयोग का एक समाधान यह भी हो सकता है कि गिरौ गिरौ शेते इति गिरिशः इस अर्थ में ''गिरि'' शब्द के दो संख्या वाला या वीप्सा अर्थ वाला होने से **''संख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम्''**[११] इस सूत्र से ''शस्'' प्रत्यय करके ''गिरिश'' शब्द बन सकता है किन्तु इसमें आपत्ति यह है कि तब उक्त प्रयोग अव्यय बन जाएगा अर्थात् **''संख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम्''** इस सूत्र प्रोक्त ''शस्'' प्रत्यय से निष्पन्न शब्द अव्यय हो जाते हैं क्योंकि **''तद्धितश्चाऽसर्वविभक्तिः''**[१२] यह सूत्र इसमें प्रमाण है। इसके अतिरिक्त ''शस्'' प्रत्यय से निष्पन्न होने वाला ''गिरिश'' शब्द अदन्त न होकर सकारान्त बनेगा जो कि अनिष्ट है तथा इसी तरह ''शस्'' प्रत्यय के स्वार्थिक होने से 'गिरौ गिरौ शेते' यह विग्रह भी सुसंगत नहीं हो सकता। **शब्दकौस्तुभ**कार के अनुसार

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८. **पा.** ५.२.१००.

९. **द्र. पदमंजरी (न्यासपदमंजरीसंहिताकाशिकावृत्ति** (पृ० ५५३, ''अन्ये त्वाहुः—इह यो गिरौ शेते गिरिस्तस्यास्तीति लोमादिषु दर्शनाच्छ प्रत्ययः''।

१०. **द्र. वही**—पृ० ५५३, ''न च लोमादिष्वपि छन्दोग्रहणमस्ति, तेन भाषायामपि गिरिश इति भवति''।

११. **पा.** ५.४.४३।

१२. **वही**, १.१.३८.

इस प्रयोग का यह समाधान देना एक प्रकार से प्रमाद ही है[१३] अतः समुचित यही है कि ''गिरिश'' शब्द से ''शस्'' प्रत्यय न मानकर ''श'' प्रत्यय ही स्वीकार करना चाहिए जिससे ''गिरिश'' शब्द में अव्ययत्व की प्राप्ति रूपी दोष न आ सके। इस प्रकार ''गिरि'' उपपद होने पर शीङ् ''धातु से लोक में दो रूप साधु सिद्ध हो जाते हैं— ''गिरिशः'' एवं ''गिरिशयः''।

यद्यपि यहाँ यह कहा जा सकता है कि ''गिरिश'' शब्द की सिद्धि दो प्रकार से करना अनुचित है, तो ठीक नहीं, क्योंकि व्याकरण शास्त्र के सिद्धान्त अनुसार लक्ष्य की सिद्धि महत्त्वपूर्ण है, उसके लिए उपायों का कोई नियम नहीं है अर्थात् किसी भी उपाय से आप लक्ष्य सिद्ध कर लें वह ग्राह्य है[१४] जैसे आचार्य पाणिनि ने आर्धधातुक लकारों में ''अस्'' के स्थान पर ''भू'' को आदेश माना जबकि आपिशलि आचार्य ने इसके विपरीत सार्वधातुक लकारों में ''भू'' के स्थान में ''अस्'' के आदेश को स्वीकार किया है। इसी प्रकार यहाँ पर भी गिरिश शब्द की सिद्धि प्रमुख है, भले ही वह कृत् प्रत्यय से बने अथवा तद्धित प्रत्यय से। किन्तु 'गिरौ डश् छन्दसि' इस वार्तिक के प्रामाण्य से लोक में तद्धितान्त गिरिश शब्द ही प्रयुक्त होता है कृदन्त नहीं।

इसी प्रकार ''प्रेक्ष्य स्थितां सहचरीं व्यवधाय देहम्''[१५] यह दूसरा पद्यांश है। यहाँ ''सहचरीम्'' यह पद विचारणीय है। यह **''भिक्षासेनादायेषु च''**[१६] इस सूत्र का विषय है। इस सूत्र का अर्थ है कि भिक्षा, सेना और आदाय उपपद होने पर ''चर्'' धातु से ''ट'' प्रत्यय हो जाता है, तद्यथा—भिक्षां चरतीति भिक्षाचरः सेनां चरतीति सेनाचरः। यहाँ इन उदाहरणों में उपपद समास होकर ''ट'' प्रत्यय का आकार मिलकर प्रथमा विभक्ति एक वचन में भिक्षाचरः, सेनाचरः इत्यादि रूप बन जाते हैं। सूत्र में ''आदाय'' शब्द आङ् पूर्वक ''दा'' धातु से ''ल्यप्'' प्रत्यय का रूप है। आदाय भी जब

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१३. द्र. **शब्दकौस्तुभ,** गोपाल शास्त्री नेने द्वारा संपादित, चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरिज़ आफिस, बनारस, वि. सं. १९८५, पृ. ४३३, ''गिरौ शेते इति व्याचक्षाणानां तु प्रमाद इत्यवधेयम्।''

१४. द्र. **वैयाकरणभूषणसार** ''उपेयप्रतिपत्तार्था उपाया अव्यवस्थिताः।'' यह कारिका उक्त ग्रंथ में **वाक्यपदीय** से उद्धृत स्वीकार की गई है, जबकि **वाक्यपदीय** के उपलब्ध संस्करण में यह कारिका नहीं देखी जाती।

१५. द्र. **रघुवंश** ९.५७, पृ. १७१

१६. **पा.** ३.२.१७.

उपपद होगा तो उक्त सूत्र से "ट" प्रत्यय होकर आदायचरः बन जाता है। उक्त उपपद होने पर प्रस्तुत सूत्र से "ट" प्रत्यय के टित्करण का प्रयोजन है कि स्त्रीलिंग में उसे "**टिड्ढाणञ्-द्वयसज्-दघ्नञ् मात्रच्-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्-कञ्क्वरपः**"[१७] सूत्र द्वारा ङीप् हो सके जिससे भिक्षाचरी इत्यादि रूप बन जाए।

अब यहाँ यह शंका पैदा होती है कि उक्त सूत्र द्वारा केवल भिक्षा, सेना और ल्यपन्त आदाय शब्द उपपद होने पर ही "ट" प्रत्यय का विधान है, तब "सहचरीम्" यहाँ सह पूर्वक "चर" धातु से "ट" प्रत्यय कैसे हो गया और जब "ट" प्रत्यय ही नहीं होगा तो उससे स्त्रीलिंग में "ङीप" न होकर सहचरीम् यह रूप भी प्राप्त नहीं होता।

इसका समाधान करते हुए भट्टोजि दीक्षित कहते हैं कि "**नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः**[१८]" सूत्रस्थ पचादिगण में नदट्, चरट्, ऐसा पाठ मिलता है। ऐसी स्थिति में चरट् के टित् होने से उसे स्त्रीलिंग में "ङीप्" हो जाता है।[१९] भाव यह है कि चरट् के पचादिगण में पठित होने पर फिर यहाँ "सह सुपा" से समास मानकर सहचरतीति सहचरः इस अर्थ में सह पूर्वक "चर्" धातु से पचाद्यच करने पर "चरट्" के टित् होने से स्त्रीलिंग में "सहचरी" शब्द बन जाता है।

यद्यपि यहाँ यह कहा जा सकता है कि चरट् के पचादिगण में पाठ होने से फिर भिक्षा, सेना, आदाय उपपदों से "ट" विधान अनर्थक हो जाता है, जबकि "ट" का प्रयोजन तो स्त्रीलिंग में "**टिड्ढाणञ्-द्वयसच्-दघ्नञ्-मात्रच्-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्-क्वरपः** "से" ङीप्" होना था, वह चरट् के टित् होने से स्वतः सिद्ध है। अतः आपाततः उक्त विधान अनर्थक प्रतीत होता है, किन्तु यह ठीक नहीं, क्योंकि नित्य उपपद समास करने के लिए "**भिक्षासेनादायेषु च**" सूत्र द्वारा "ट" प्रत्यय का विधान किया गया है अन्यथा पचाद्यच् मानने पर यहाँ नित्य समास प्राप्त नहीं होता था। अतः "**भिक्षासेनादायेषु च**" सूत्र की सार्थकता बनी रहती है। इस प्रकार "सहचरीम्" यह

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१७. **वही. ४.१.१५.**

१८. **वही. ३.१.१३४.**

१९. द्र. **वैयाकरणसिद्धांतकौमुदी,** भाग-4, मोतीलाल बनारसी दास, दिल्ली, १९७९, पृ० ५१ "पचादिषु चरडिति पाठात्"।

प्रयोग न्याय्य ही है।[२०]

इसके पश्चात् ''इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य:[२१] यह तीसरा प्रयोग है। यह प्रयोग ''**छाया बाहुल्ये**''[२२] इस सूत्र से सम्बन्धित है। इस सूत्र का अर्थ है कि ''छाया'' शब्द जिसके अन्त में आता है, वह तत्पुरुष समास नपुंसक लिंग में होता है यदि पूर्वपद के अर्थ की बहुलता विवक्षित हो, तद्यथा—इक्षूणां छाया इति इक्षुच्छायम्। यहाँ इक्षुच्छायम् इस प्रयोग में ''इक्षूणाम्'' यह पूर्वपद बहुवचनान्त है और उत्तरपद ''छाया'' है। अत: षष्ठी तत्पुरुष समास होने के बाद प्रस्तुत सूत्र से नपुसंक लिंग होकर ''ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य'' से ह्रस्व हो जाता है।

अब उपर्युक्त ''**इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य:**'' इस प्रयोग में समस्या यह है कि फिर यहाँ भी उक्त सूत्र से नपुंसक लिंग होने के पश्चात् ह्रस्व क्यों नहीं हुआ, क्योंकि यहाँ भी तो ''इक्षूणाम्'' यह पूर्वपद बहुवचनान्त है और ''छाया'' शब्द भी प्रयुक्त हुआ है। अत: यहाँ उसे नपुंसक लिंग होकर ह्रस्व होना चाहिए था।

इस समस्या का समाधान भट्टोजिदीक्षित ने यह दिया है कि वस्तुत: यहाँ प्रस्तुत सूत्र से नपुसंकलिंग होकर ''छाया'' शब्द को ह्रस्व ही हुआ है किन्तु फिर भी जो यहाँ ''छाय'' के स्थान पर ''छाया'' शब्द का प्रयोग दिखाई दे रहा है उसका कारण है कि यहाँ ''इक्षुच्छाय'' और ''निषादिन्य: इन शब्दों के बीच में ''आङ्'' उपसर्ग भी प्रश्लिष्ट है अर्थात् यहाँ इक्षुच्छाय शब्द से परे केवल निषादिन्य: शब्द नहीं है अपितु आनिषादिन्य: शब्द परे है। इसका अर्थ है कि आसमन्तात् निषादिनी अर्थात् चारों ओर से बैठने वाली।[२३] ऐसी स्थिति में ''छाया'' शब्द को प्रस्तुत सूत्र प्रोक्त नपुंसकलिंग के आधार पर ह्रस्व होने पर इक्षुच्छाय + आ निषादिन्य: इस अवस्था में सवर्णदीर्घ संधि के कारण ह्रस्व दिखाई नहीं देता जबकि यहाँ ''छाया'' शब्द को ह्रस्व होकर ''छाय'' हुआ है। इस तरह कालिदास का यह प्रयोग भी व्याकरण सम्मत ही है।

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२०. द्र. **बालमनोरमा (वै. सि. कौ.)** पृ० ५२, ''यद्यपि भिक्षाचर इत्यादौ पचाद्यचि रूपसिद्धि: तथापि नित्योपपदसमासार्थमज्विधानमित्याहु:।''

२१. द्र. रघु. ४.२०, पृ० १२७

२२. पा. २.४.२२.

२३. द्र. वै. सि. कौ. भाग-२, पृ० १२७, ''इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य:'' इति तु आसमन्तान्निषादिन्य: ''इत्याङ् श्लेषो बोध्य:''।

इस तरह **''स नैषधस्यार्थपत्ते:**[२४] यह चौथा तद्धितान्त प्रयोग भी विचारणीय है। यह ''कुरूणादिभ्यो ण्य:''[२५] इस सूत्र का विषय है। इस सूत्र का अर्थ है कि ''कुरु'' एवं नकारादि शब्दों से अपत्य अर्थ में 'ण्य' प्रत्यय होता है। भाव यह है कि एक तो ''कुरु'' शब्द और दूसरे ऐसे शब्द जिनके आदि में नकार हो, उनसे ण्य प्रत्यय का प्रयोग होता है। जैसे कि कौरव्य:, नैपध्य:। यहाँ 'कुरूणां निषधानामपत्यं तेषां राजा वा' इस अर्थ में, 'ण्य' प्रत्यय का प्रयोग होकर इष्ट सिद्धि होती है। अब ''स नैषधस्यार्थपत्ते: '' इस प्रयोग में समस्या यह है कि यहाँ 'नैषधस्य शब्द' कैसे बना क्योंकि यहाँ भी निषधानामपत्यं तेषां राजा वा इस अर्थ में ण्य प्रत्यय होकर नैषधस्य ऐसा शब्द होना चाहिए था। इसी प्रकार ''नैषधोऽर्हति चेदर्धम्'' यहाँ भी ''नैषध'' यह प्रयोग विचारणीय है। इन दोनों प्रयोगों के विषय में **पदमंजरी**कार कहते हैं कि दूसरे प्रयोग को तो वैदिक मानकर उसमें दृष्टानुविधान माना जा सकता है क्योंकि ऋषि लोग किसी भी नियम के बन्धन में न रहकर स्वच्छन्दतावादी हुआ करते हैं। अत: उक्त वैदिक प्रयोग को तो ठीक माना ही जा सकता है।[२६] किन्तु कालिदास के प्रयोग को लेकर पहला समाधान तो उन्होंने इस प्रयोग को निरंकुश मानकर दिया है। दूसरे समाधान को लेकर वे कहते हैं कि अथवा ''शेषे''[२७] सूत्र के अर्थ के आधार पर शेष अर्थ की विवक्षा में उपर्युक्त दोनों प्रयोगों में ''तस्येदम्''[२८] से अण् प्रत्यय समर्थित किया जा सकता है। इस दृष्टि से तो कालिदास का उक्त प्रयोग व्याकरण सम्मत ही ठहरता है।[२९]

इसके पश्चात् ''तस्यामेव रघो: पाण्ड्या:[३०]'' यह पद्यांश है। यहाँ पाण्ड्या: पद विचारणीय है। यह **''तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवाऽस्त्रियाम्''**[३१] इस सूत्र का विषय है। इस सूत्र के अनुसार तद्राज संज्ञक जो प्रत्यय उसका जो अर्थ तद्गत जो बहुत्व अर्थ जहाँ

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२४. द्र. रघु. १८.१, पृ. २४४

२५. पा. ४.१.१५१

२६. द्र. पदमंजरी ''न्यासपदमंजरीसंहिताकाशिकावृत्ति (भाग-३, पृ० ५०१)।

२७. पा. ४.२.९२

२८. वही. ४.२.१२०

२९. द्र. प. म. (न्यासपदमंजरी संहिता काशिकावृत्ति) भाग-३, पृ० ५०१

३०. द्र. रघु. 4.49, पृ० १३०.

३१. पा. २.४.६२.

गम्यमान रहे वहाँ तद्राज संज्ञक प्रत्यय का लुक् होता है पर स्त्रीलिंग में नहीं होता अर्थात् बहुवचन में तद्राज संज्ञक प्रत्यय का लुक् हो जाता है पर यह लुक् स्त्रीलिंग के विषय में नहीं होता। तद्यथा—इक्ष्वाकूणां जनपद- विशेषाणां राजानः इस अर्थ में इक्ष्वाकु शब्द से "**जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ्**'[३२] सूत्र से लुक् हुआ। अब अन्त्य उकार को "**जसि च**"[३३] से गुण एवं उसे अवादेश होकर इक्ष्वाकवः शब्द बना। इसी तरह 'पंचालाः' शब्द सिद्ध होता है।

अब समस्या यह है कि उपर्युक्त प्रयोग 'पांड्याः' कैसे सिद्ध होगा क्योंकि यहाँ भी तो तद्राजसंज्ञक "ड्यण्" प्रत्यय का लुक् होकर पाण्डवः रूप होना चाहिए था। अतः इष्ट सिद्धि कैसे होगी।

इस समस्या के समाधानार्थ यह कहा जा सकता है कि यहाँ तो तद्राज-संज्ञक प्रत्यय हुआ ही नहीं अपितु यहाँ तत्र साधु इस अर्थ में "यत्" प्रत्यय हुआ है।[३४] भाव यह है कि यहाँ पहले "पाण्डु" शब्द से राजा अर्थ में "**पाण्डोर्ड्यण्**"[३५] से "ड्यण्" यह तद्राजसंज्ञक प्रत्यय हुआ। "ड्यण्!" प्रत्यय के णित् होने से आदि वृद्धि हुई और फिर "पाण्डु" शब्द के अन्त्य उकार को ओकार गुण तथा उसे अवादेश होकर "पाण्ड्य" शब्द बना। अब "पाण्ड्य" शब्द से तत्र साधु अर्थ में यत् प्रत्यय हुआ। इसके पश्चात् "यस्येति च"[३६] से "पाण्ड्य" शब्द के अन्त्य अकार को लोप होकर "यत्" प्रत्यय के हल् यकार के परे रहते "**आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति**"[३७] सूत्र से अपत्यार्थक "ड्यण्" प्रत्यय का लुक् हुआ तो "पाण्ड्य" यह रूपशेष रहा। अब बहुवचनान्त "जस्" प्रत्यय होकर पाण्ड्याः प्रयोग साधु सिद्ध हो जाता है।

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३२. वहीं. ४.१.१६६

३३. वही. ७.३.१०९

३४. **द्र. ब. म. (वै. सि. कौ.** (भाग-२, पृ. ३३६. कौख्यशब्दात् पांड्यशब्दाच्च (तत्र साधु) इति यत् प्रत्ययो "यस्येति च" इत्यकारलोपे यत्प्रत्ययस्य तद्राजत्वाभावान्न लुगित्यर्थ।"

३५. **पा.** ४.१.१९८ पर वार्तिक

३६. **वही** ६.४.१४८

३७. **पा.** ६.४.१५१

अब हम "**विज्ञापना भर्तृषु**"[३८] इस उदाहरण को लेते हैं। यहाँ "विज्ञापना" यह पद विचारणीय है। यह "**मारणतोषणनिशामनेषु**" इस गण सूत्र का विषय है। इस सूत्र के अनुसार मारण, तोषण और निशामन इन अर्थों में "ज्ञा" धातु मित् संज्ञक है। मारण से हत्या या मारना, तोषण से तृप्त करना, सन्तुष्ट करना एवं विज्ञापन से देखना, अवलोकन करना, दृष्टिपात करना इत्यादि अभिप्राय है। अत: इन अर्थों में "ज्ञा" धातु मित् होगी। मित् होने से "मितां ह्रस्व:"[३९] से ह्रस्व हो जाएगा तो 'विज्ञपना' यह रूप बन जाता है।

उक्त प्रयोग में समस्या यह है कि फिर यहाँ 'विज्ञापना' कैसे बना क्योंकि यहाँ भी तो "ज्ञा" धातु है तथा इसका अर्थ भी देखना या ज्ञान ही है। अत: उसे ह्रस्व होकर 'विज्ञपना' ऐसा प्रयोग होना चाहिए था जो कि नहीं है।

इस समस्या का प्रथम समाधान जो कि आचार्य सायण माधव, दैव, मैत्रेयी तथा पुरुषकारादि ने दिया है, यह है कि चक्षुरिन्द्रियजन्य ज्ञान में ही ज्ञा धातु मित् है, इससे भिन्न अर्थ में नहीं क्योंकि 'निशामन' शब्द 'शमलक्ष आलोचने' इस प्रकार आलोचनार्थक शम् धातु से निष्पन्न होता है और आलोचन चाक्षुष ज्ञान ही होता है जैसा कि" **त्यादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च**" "**पश्यार्थैश्चानालोचने**" इत्यादि सूत्रों में दृश् धातु का आलोचन के साथ सम्बन्ध स्पष्ट ही वर्णित है। अत: यहाँ ज्ञा धातु के चक्षुइन्द्रियजन्य ज्ञान से भिन्न अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होने से मित्वाभाव होकर 'विज्ञापना' यह शब्द बनता है।[४०]

इसके अतिरिक्त यदि ज्ञापन मात्र अर्थ में ज्ञा धातु को मित् माना जाता है जैसा कि "**श्लाघह्नुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमान:**"[४१] सूत्रस्थ काशिका वृत्ति में 'ज्ञीप्स्यमान:' शब्द

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३८. द्र. **कुमार.** ७.९३, पृ. ९१

३९. **पा.** ६.४.९२

४०. (क) द्र. **माधवीय धातुवृत्ति,** संपा. स्वामी द्वारिका प्रसाद शास्त्री, ताराबुक एजेंसी वाराणसी, १९८७, पृ. १९८।

(ख) द्र. **वै. सि. कौ.** भाग-३, पृ. १८६, कथं विज्ञापना भर्तृषु सिद्धिमेति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्य इति च शृणु। माधवमते चाक्षुषज्ञाने मित्त्वाभावात्।

४१. **पा.** १०.४.३४.

की व्याख्या करते हुए ''बोधयितुमिष्टः ''ऐसा कहा गया है तो इसका दूसरा समाधान यह है कि एक ज्ञा धातु चुरादिगणीय भी है जो कि नियोगार्थक है, उससे विज्ञापना की सिद्धि कर ली जाएगी क्योंकि ''अनेकार्था हि धातवः भवन्ति'' इस भाष्योक्ति से 'ज्ञा' धातु जो कि नियोगार्थक है, ज्ञापनार्थक भी हो सकता है। अतः 'ज्ञा' इस चुरादिगण वाले धातु से उक्त प्रयोग की सिद्धि में कोई बाधा नहीं पड़ती क्योंकि उक्त गणसूत्र भ्वादिगण वाले निशामनार्थक 'ज्ञा' धातु को ही मित् करता है। चुरादिगण वाले नियोगार्थक 'ज्ञा' धातु को नहीं। फलतः मित्वा भाव में ह्रस्व न होकर इष्ट सिद्धि हो जाती है।[४२]

अथवा इसका एक तीसरा समाधान यह भी हो सकता है, कि कुछ संस्करणों में ''**मारणतोषणनिशामनेषु ज्ञा**'' इस गणसूत्र के स्थान पर ''**मारणतोषणनिशानेषु ज्ञा**'' इस प्रकार निशान पाठान्तर मिलता है। 'निशान' का अर्थ तेज करना, या तीक्ष्ण करना होता है। इस प्रकार यहाँ चन्द्राचार्य तथा हरदत्तादि के अनुसार उक्त निशान पाठान्तर माना जाता है तो फिर उक्त प्रयोग में सर्वथा कोई अनुपपत्ति ही नहीं रहती[४३] क्योंकि यहाँ 'ज्ञा' धातु का अर्थ निशान तीक्ष्णीकरण न होकर ज्ञान है। वर्धमान के अनुसार तो यहाँ निशातन पाठान्तर भी मिलता है। इसका अर्थ भी तीक्ष्णीकरण है।[४४] इस पाठ में भी कोई समस्या नहीं। इस प्रकार सायण माधव के मत में बोधन अर्थ में ही ज्ञा धातु का तो 'विज्ञापना' या 'ज्ञापयति' ऐसा उपधा युक्त तथा 'जप्' धातु का ''**जपमिच्च**'' सूत्र प्रोक्त मित् के कारण उपधा ह्रस्व होकर 'जपयति' ये दो रूप सिद्ध हो जाते हैं।

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४२. **वही,** ''ज्ञापनमात्रे मित्त्वमिति मते तु ज्ञा नियोगे इति चौरादिकस्य, धातूनामनेकार्थत्वात्।''

४३. द्र. वै. सि. कौ., भाग-३, सू. २३५३ पृ. १८७, ''निशानेष्विति पठतां हरदत्तादीनां मते तु न काप्यनुपपत्तिः।''

४४. द्र. **माधवीय धातुवृत्ति,** भ्वादिगण, धातु संख्या ५३५, पृ. १९८, ''अत्र चन्द्रः—मारणतोषणनिशानेषु इति। वर्धमानश्चैवं पठित्वा निशातनं तीक्ष्णीकरणमिति चाभिधाय निशामने इति केचित् निशामनं दर्शनमित्याहुः।''

पाञ्चरात्र आगम परम्परा में सुदर्शन चक्र

डॉ० रामप्यारे मिश्र

गोरखपुर

The tradition of depicting **Cakra** as the solar emblem may be traced back to Indus Valley Civilization, which later developed as the symbol of worldly existence, or Time or the Supreme Soul.

In the present paper, the importance of Viṣṇn's weapon **Sudarśana Cakra** has been discussed from the Pāñcarātrāgama point of view which considers it as the very form of God Viṣṇu.

सौर प्रतीक ''चक्र'' की परम्परा भारत में अति पुरातन है। पुरा-ऐतिहासिक सिन्धु-सभ्यता के पुरावशेष (मृण्मुद्रांकन एवं मृण्पात्रों पर चक्रांकन) इस प्रतीक के प्राचीनतम पुरातात्त्विक प्रमाण हैं। वाङ्मय परम्परा के पर्यालोचन से ज्ञात होता है कि चक्र-भवचक्र या कालचक्र की अवधारणा वेदों में ही विकसित हो चली थी। कालान्तर में भारतीय शिल्प व साहित्य में 'चक्र' का प्रतीकत्व विकसित हुआ और प्राय: सभी धर्म सम्प्रदायों में इस प्रतीक की महिमा का प्रसार हुआ। किन्तु सुदर्शन चक्र की जो महिमा वैष्णव धर्म में दिखायी देती है, वह अन्यत्र नहीं। वहाँ आरम्भ में यह विष्णु का आयुध है जो प्रतिमा शास्त्र के आयुध पुरुष रूप में समादृत है। पाञ्चरात्र आगम में सुदर्शन चक्र संरक्षक रूप में भगवान विष्णु का साक्षात् स्वरूप है। प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र में इसी विशिष्ट आयुध के महत्त्व सम्बन्धी पाञ्चरात्र दृष्टि का विवेचन किया गया है।

ध्यातव्य है कि इस महाचक्र को धर्म-चक्र, भव-चक्र, महाकाल-चक्र और ब्रह्म-चक्र आदि रूपों में अभिहित किया गया है।

परमेश्वर के दिव्य आयुधों का पाञ्चरात्रागमों में विशेष महत्त्व है और उसे पञ्चायुध संज्ञा प्राप्त है। पञ्चायुध इस प्रकार हैं—चक्र (सुदर्शन), गदा, शंख, शारंग एवं नन्दक। इसमें विशेष उल्लेखनीय **अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता** का नृसिंह-सुदर्शन-यंत्र है जो शरीर की सुरक्षा कवच के रूप में धारण किया जाता था। नृसिंह वहाँ सुदर्शन कहा गया है जो एक प्रकार से विष्णु का सुदर्शन स्वरूप ही है और उनकी विराट् शक्ति का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है।

मंत्र, मंत्र दीक्षा, चक्र यन्त्र, महामंत्र तथा विविध उपासना कर्मकाण्ड के प्रसंग में सुदर्शन के वर्णन विभिन्न संहिताओं में उपलब्ध हैं। प्राचीन भारतीय कला-प्रतिमा शास्त्र परम्परा पर ध्यान दें तो पाञ्चरात्र आगम और सुदर्शन चक्र प्रतिमाओं के स्वरूप एवं सिद्धान्त तुलनीय हैं। विष्णु की अदम्य शक्ति का निर्वाह करने वाले आयुध का वर्णन पांचरात्र संहिताओं में बड़े विस्तार से प्राप्त होता है।[१]

ध्यातव्य है कि सुदर्शन का मूल अभिप्राय है जो देखने में सुन्दर लगे और दूसरा यह भगवान विष्णु का आयुध नाम है जो मानवीयकृत होने के कारण विष्णु स्वरूप आयुध पुरुष माना जाता है। वैष्णव प्रतिमा शास्त्र में यद्यपि सुदर्शन चक्र विष्णु के आयुध के रूप में लोकप्रिय हैं तथापि इसकी पूजा देवालय में पृथक् रीति से की जाती है। यह आयुध रूप में अत्यन्त विध्वंसक होते हुए भी भक्तों को शक्ति एवं अभय प्रदान करता है। एक पुण्यात्मा भक्त सुदर्शन के पास कल्याण प्राप्ति की कामना से श्रद्धापूर्वक जाता है ताकि वह धन-धान्य, रोगों से मुक्ति तथा अन्यान्य प्रकार के लाभ की सम्प्राप्ति कर सके।

प्रतिमा-विज्ञान में सुदर्शन का चित्रण अग्नि ज्वालाओं से युक्त एक चक्र

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१. **अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता** २ : ७-९, ९ : १-५४, २ : ११-५८, २३ : १-१११, २७ : ६-१९; **ईश्वर संहिता** ७ : ९१-२२२, ९ : १०५-१११; **परम संहिता** १६ : ३७-४२, **पराशर संहिता**-१६ : ७; **पाद्म संहिता 'क्रियापाद'** ३१ : ८६-२६२, ३२ : १-२८; **परमेश्वर संहिता** २३ : ३९-९०; **पुरुषोत्तम संहिता** ८ : ४० ब-४२अ, २१ : ३५-५२; **भारद्वाज संहिता** ८; **बृहद्-ब्रह्म संहिता** I. II. : १-२३, **लक्ष्मी तन्त्रम्** २९ : ५१-७१, ३० : १-६५, ३१ : १-३२, ३३-३४, ५-६३; **विष्वक्सेन संहिता** २० : १५५, ३२ : २-१४, १९-२५; **शेष संहिता** २४ : १-१०अ, ४७ : १-२६, ४८ : १-३अ, **श्रीप्रश्न संहिता** २९ : १८८-२२६ अ, **सनत्कुमार-संहिता 'शिवरात्र'** ३ : १-२९;

परिधि में स्थानक मुद्रा में किया जाता है। उसके चार, छः, सोलह अथा बत्तीस 'अर' आयुधों के प्रतीक स्वरूप चित्रित किये जाते हैं। इस प्रकार की प्रतिमा स्वर्ण, रजत अथवा ताम्र की बनायी जा सकती है। सुदर्शन का ध्यान करते समय वैष्णव भक्त को अग्नि ज्वालाओं के वर्ण के रूप में सुदर्शन की कल्पना करनी चाहिए। इसका परिमाप नौ ताल वर्ग में किया जाता है।[२]

शेषसंहिता में सुदर्शन चक्र की व्याख्या करते हुए कहा गया है कि सहस्र सूर्य के समान सहस्रमुख कमल वाले सहस्र भुजाओं और सहस्रार सुदर्शन की मैं शरण लेता हूँ।[३]

लक्ष्मी तंत्र में भी **ईश्वर संहिता** के समान ही चक्र रूपी परमात्मा के ध्यान करने का विधान वर्णित है जिसमें उसी प्रकार के आकार वेषभूषा और आयुधों इत्यादि का वर्णन किया गया है।[४]

पराशर संहिता में कहा गया है कि षट्कोण में अवस्थित सकल शत्रुओं के प्राण का हरण करने वाले चक्र का ध्यान करना चाहिए, जो शंख, चक्र, धनुष, परशु, असि, वाण, शूल, पाश, अंकुश तथा व्रजखेट, हल, मुसल, गदा, भाला को धारण किए हुए भयानक दन्त, ज्वालाकेश, जलते अग्नि के समान त्रिनेत्र, हार एवं केयूर से अलंकृत हैं।[५]

विष्वक्सेन संहिता में हेतिराज चक्र का सुवर्ण आदि क्रम से उत्तम, मध्यम और अधम रूप का क्रमशः स्वर्ण, रजत एवं ताम्र तथा लोहे के द्वारा निर्माण का विधान वर्णित है। उत्तम हेतिराज का लक्षण बताते हुए कहा गया है कि अंगूठे के अंगुली के मान से बारह अंगुल आयात चक्र रूप से वृत्ताकार प्रथम चक्र बनावे। शिल्पज्ञों के द्वारा शिल्प शास्त्र के अनुसार ग्राम एवं राज्य के नक्षत्रों के अनुरूप निर्माण कराने की विधि बतायी गयी है। षड्दिश्य अथवा चतुर्दिश्य निरूपी दण्डकारायत चक्र का निर्माण करें।

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२. **विष्वक्सेन संहिता, ३२, ३-१३.**

३. सहस्रादित्यसंकाशं सहस्रवदनाम्बुजम्। सहस्रदोस्सहस्रारं प्रपद्येत् सुदर्शनम्॥

—शेष संहिता. ४८.१.

४. **लक्ष्मी तंत्र ३१ : ४५-६०.**

५. पाराशर संहिता १६.७

क्रमशः बीस अंगुल के मान वाला पादायत चक्र बनाया जाय। आठ अंगुल ऊँचा पद्म और उसका नाह षडंगुल हो तथा चक्र के बीच में बारह अंगुल की चक्र कर्णिका करायी जाय। उस चक्र के बीच में वैष्णवी शक्ति का निर्माण कराना चाहिए। उस वृत्त के अन्तर्गत तत्तत् मूर्तियों के अनुसार ध्यान करके सूर्य, अग्नि, रुद्र, ब्रह्मा, विष्णु काल, बडवाग्नि का ध्यान करना चाहिये और शिखा में अग्नि का, ज्योतिषचक्र, उसकी प्रभा से युक्त काल रूप का दण्ड में ध्यान तथा अष्ट शक्ति से समन्वित देवाकृति चक्र का निर्माण विहित है। इस प्रकार हेतिराज का लक्षण वर्णित है।[६]

विहगेन्द्र-संहिता में सुदर्शन के संभेदों की संज्ञा के सन्दर्भ में विस्तार चक्र का विवेचन किया गया है जिसमें आयुधों आदि का वर्णन करते हुए गोपाल स्वरूप चक्र में ही दशावतारों और उनके आयुधों का भी विवेचन किया गया है।[७] **ईश्वर संहिता** में भी चक्र और उसके स्वरूपों का **विहगेन्द्र संहिता** के समान ही वर्णन उपलब्ध होता है। उक्त संहिता में कहा गया है कि चार भुजाओं वाले ह्रस्वकाय, ज्वलत्प्रभा, क्रोधारक्त, अक्षि समन्वित, दैत्य-दानव के रक्त से विलिप्त, मदमत्त तथा नृत्य करते हुए सहस्रार के बीच में अवस्थित द्रंष्टाकराल मुख, कुटिल भौंहों वाले, प्रलयाग्नि के समान अपनी ही रश्मियों से परिवेष्टित, दोनों दक्षिण भुजाओं में सुदर्शन चक्र को धारण करते हुए उससे भिन्न पृथ्वी पर विश्रान्त गदा को धारण करते हुए मुख्य वाम हस्त में शंख और अपर से गणित्रक धारण किए हुये, हार, केयूर, ताटंक, मुकुट आदि विभूषणों में समलंकृत, विचित्र श्वेत मालाओं एवं वस्त्रों से सुसज्जित अपने दीप्ति से विघ्नों का विदारण करते हुए सुदर्शन का ध्यान करना चाहिए।[८]

पुरुषोत्तम संहिता में वर्णित है कि—षट्कोण चक्र के मध्य में षड्भुज मूर्ति कही जाती है। दाहिने हाथ में कमल, हेतिराज चक्र तथा गदा एवं वाम भुजाओं में शंख, मुसल और धनुष धारण कराने का विधान बताया गया है। षटकोण चक्र में छः अरों से युक्त चक्कर काटते हुए सुदर्शन को अंकित करना चाहिए।[९]

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६. **विष्वक्सेन-संहिता** ३२ : ३-१३.

७. **विहगेन्द्र संहिता** ३ : ६५ब-७८.

८. **ईश्वर संहिता** ९: १०५ ब-१११ अ. ठीक यही बात **पारमेश्वर संहिता के अध्याय** ११ : १०८-११३ में मिलती है।

९. **पुरुषोत्तम संहिता** ७, ४०ब-४२अ.

सुदर्शन चक्र का बड़ा ही सुन्दर वर्णन **अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता** में प्राप्त होता है। ईश्वर एवं उनकी शक्ति लक्ष्मी को प्रणाम करने के उपरान्त उक्त संहिता दो ऋषियों—भारद्वाज और दुर्वासा के बीच वार्तालाप से आरम्भ होती है। इसी में विष्णु के उस रहस्यमय चक्र का जिसका नाम सुदर्शन है, वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। बहुत से अवसरों पर दैवी अस्त्र, शक्ति और जादू के मंत्रों आदि को सुदर्शन के ऊपर निर्भर रहने के विषय में वर्णन किये जाने के उपरान्त भारद्वाज जानना चाहते हैं कि हे ऋषि! इसका वैभव क्या है? यह स्वयंभू है या किसी अन्य के द्वारा रचित है? यह सुदर्शन क्या है? इस शब्द का अर्थ क्या है? यह कौन सा कार्य करता है? यह कैसे संसार पर शासन करता है? व्यूह क्या है? वे व्यूह कितने और किस प्रकार के हैं? जो सुदर्शन चक्र से उत्पन्न हुए हैं, वे किस कार्य के लिए स्थित हैं? विष्णु का स्वभाव क्या है जो उनका स्वामी है। इस सुदर्शन का विष्णु के साथ कैसा सम्बन्ध माना जाता है? हे पवित्र ऋषि! आप इसका समाधान करने की कृपा करें।

सुदर्शन शब्द की व्याख्या करते हुए इस संहिता में आगे कहा गया है कि यह विष्णु की इच्छा, दर्शन (देखना), कल्पित विचार (प्रेक्षण), और शु (पूर्व) की ओर इंगित करता है और यह वर्णित करता है कि यह काल तथा स्थान के बन्धन से परे है। विश्व में सम्पूर्ण वस्तु सुदर्शन के ऊपर निर्भर रहने के कारण उसकी शक्ति सर्वातिशय है और किसी के द्वारा रचित नहीं है। अन्यत्र यह भी ज्ञात होता है कि सुदर्शन इस सम्पूर्ण विश्व का शाश्वत आधार है जो इसके द्वारा उसी प्रकार धारण किये जाते हैं जिस प्रकार धागा मोतियों के बीच से जाकर उनको धारण करता है। सुदर्शन विश्व को धारण करने वाला चालन चक्र है—

चलनं नाम तच्चक्रं सुदर्शनमयं महत्॥ **(अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता ९.४१-३२)**

अतएव तीनों कालों में वह एक विचित्र रूप धारण करते हैं तथा—सृष्टि चक्र, संहार चक्र और पालन चक्र तीनों रूपों में क्रमशः प्रकट होते हैं जबकि इन तीनों में से प्रत्येक पुनः एक होकर प्रकट होता है, और कभी-कभी बहुत से छोटे-छोटे चक्रों के द्वारा प्रकट होते हैं। जो बहुत से तत्त्वों के समान होता है तब महारात्रि धर चक्र कहलाता है जो काल चक्र का सहभागी है और केवल एक ही दूरी पर चक्कर लगाता है एवं तत्त्ववेत्ता ऋषियों द्वारा जिसका ध्यान किया जाता है।[१०]

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१०. एफ० आल्टो श्राडर : इन्ट्रोडक्शन टू दि पांचरात्र एण्ड अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता.

यहाँ यह अवधेय है कि जब सृष्टि का आरम्भ होता है तब सबसे पहले ऊषा चक्र प्रकट होता है, जिसमें दो तीलियाँ होती है। इसके पश्चात् सुदर्शन के रूप में सूर्योदय चक्र निकलता है जिसमें तीन तीलियाँ होती है। तब प्रद्युम्न के साथ ईश्वरत्व चक्र उत्पन्न होता है जिसमें चार तीलियाँ होती हैं। पुनः इसके बाद अनिरुद्ध के साथ शक्ति चक्र उत्पन्न होता है जिसमें पाँच तीलियाँ होती हैं। इसके पश्चात् ऋतु चक्र व्युत्पन्न होता है जिसमें छः तीलियाँ होती हैं जो बारह उप व्यूहों का प्रतिनिधित्व करती हैं। तदनन्तर बारह तीलियों वाला महान सुदर्शन चक्र उत्पन्न होता है जो मुख्य तथा गौण रूप से अवतारों से सम्बन्धित है तथा अन्त में सहस्त्रों तीलियों वाला चक्र उत्पन्न होता है जो सर्वोत्कृष्ट स्वर्ग को धारण किये हुए रहता है। उस समय अशुद्ध सृष्टि के कार्य में लगी हुयी तीलियाँ उत्पन्न होती हैं जिसका नाम तीन तीलियों वाला 'पुरुष चक्र' और तीस तीलियों वाला 'शक्ति चक्र' जो तीस तीलियों वाले नियति चक्र का विस्तार करती है। काल चक्र में छः तीलियाँ होती है। आकाश चक्र जिसमें एक तीली होती है। वायु चक्र में दो तीलियाँ हैं तदनन्तर ज्ञान-चक्र जिसमें ग्यारह तीलियाँ होती हैं।[११] **अथर्ववेद** के 'स्कम्भ-सूक्त' में इसी ओर संकेत है जहाँ कहा गया है—एकं अकृणोत् सहस्त्रधा।[१२]

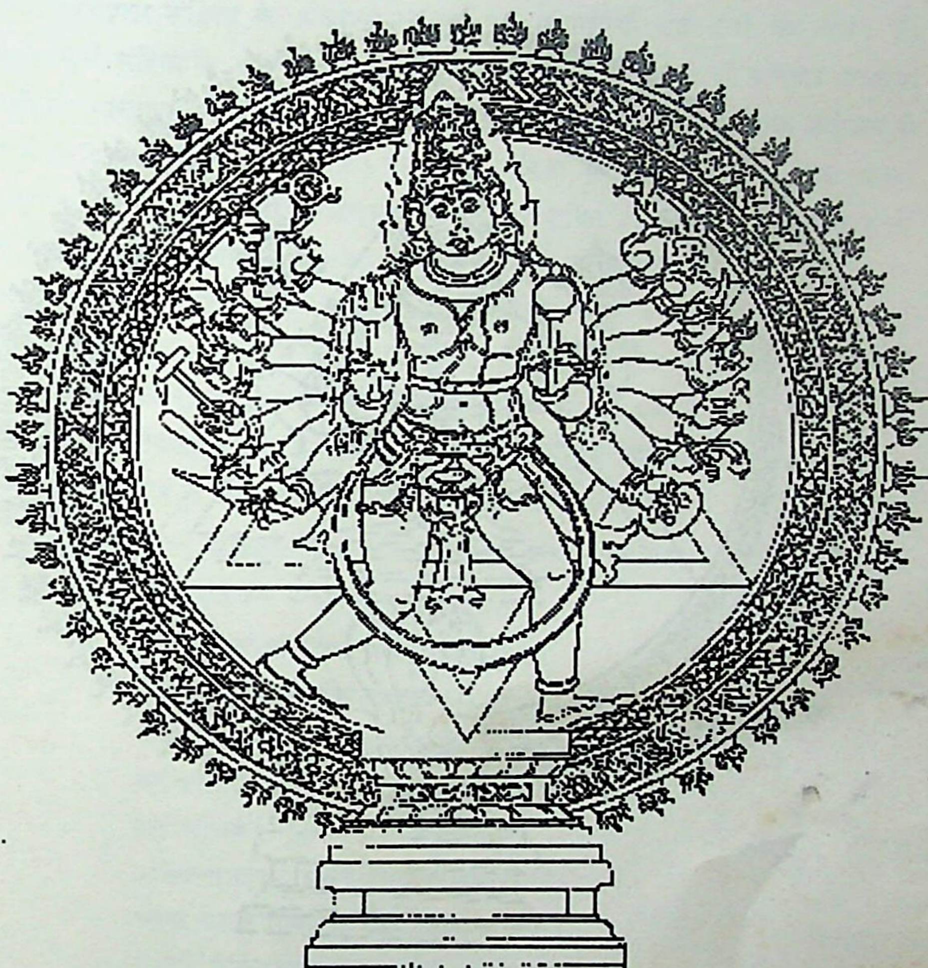
इस प्रकार अलौकिक गुणों से सम्पन्न सुदर्शन का शाब्दिक अर्थ सुन्दर रूप वाला अर्थात् जो देखने में मनोरम हो विशेषतः विष्णु का चक्र। सुदर्शन चक्र रोग दूर करने की शक्ति आदि के लिए लौकिक एवं पारलौकिक जगत में पूजित रहा है। कतिपय पांचरात्र संहिताओं में सुदर्शन को उसी महत्त्व एवं शक्ति से युक्त बताया गया है जिससे अन्यत्र लक्ष्मी को युक्त कहा गया है।

अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता के अध्याय २०.११-५८ में मंत्र दीक्षा में प्रयुक्त मंत्रों का वर्णन भी प्राप्त होता है। इसी संहिता के २३.११.१११ में सम्पूर्ण विविध चक्र यंत्र का विशद वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। अध्याय २७.६-१९ में नृसिंह सुदर्शन यंत्र जो कि रक्षा हेतु शरीर पर धारण किया जाता है, का वर्णन भी उपलब्ध होता है। **अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता** में यह भी कहा गया कि ज्ञान स्वरूप वह परब्रह्म 'बहु स्याम्' इस संकल्प अर्थात् इच्छा से

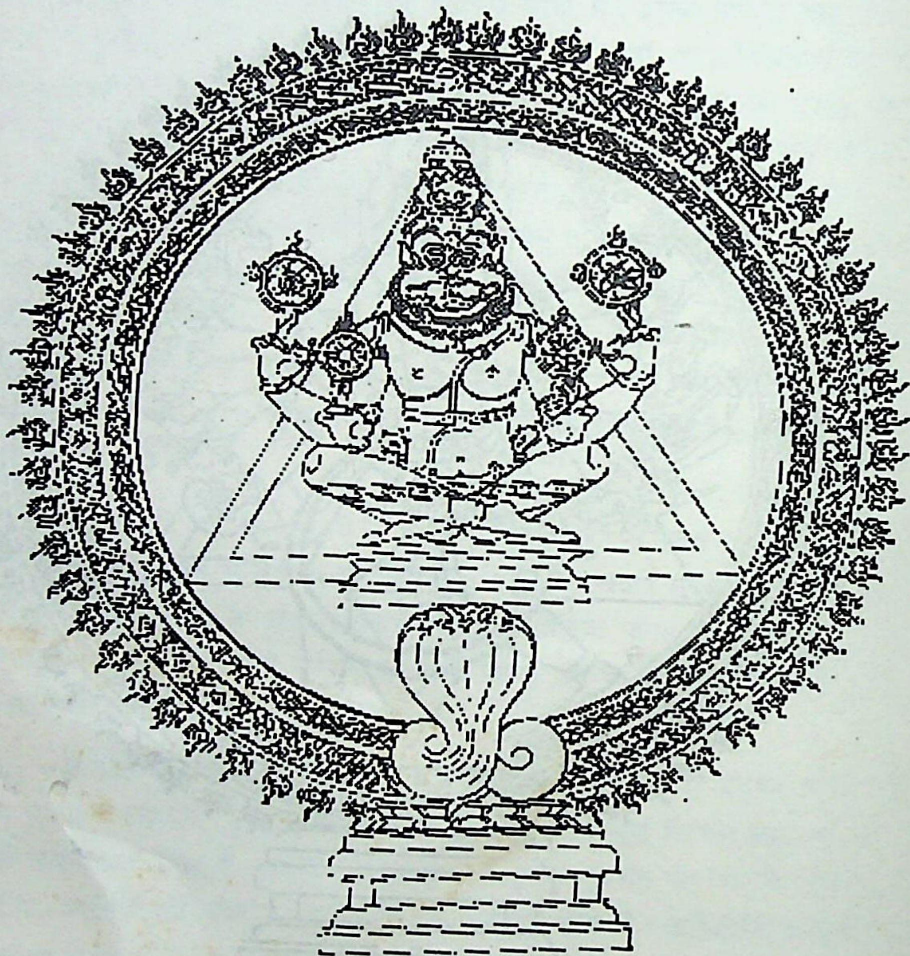
पृ० १२०-२१.

११. **तत्रैव**, पृ० १२१-१२२.

१२. **अथर्ववेद** : १०.७.९.



सुदर्शन-नरसिंह
(नरसिंह-पार्श्व)



सुदर्शन-नरसिंह
(सुदर्शन-पार्श्व)

सुदर्शन को प्राप्त करता है।[१३]

पराशर संहिता के अध्याय १६.३७.४२ में यत्र-तत्र वर्णन उपलब्ध होता है एवं **पराशर संहिता** १६.७ में भी सुदर्शन से सम्बद्ध विवेचन है। **पाद्म संहिता** के क्रिया पाद में अध्याय ३१.८६-२६२ तक में मंत्र एवं ३१.१.२८४ में महामंत्र एवं प्रदोष का विवेचन है। **पारमेश्वर संहिता** के अध्याय २३.३९०९० में मूर्तियों एवं यंत्रों का वर्णन है। **पुरुषोत्तम-संहिता** के अध्याय ८.४०ब-५२अ एवं २१.३५-५२ चक्र की प्रतिष्ठा बतलायी गयी है। **भारद्वाज-संहिता** के अध्याय ८ (अन्त) मन्दिर में प्रतिष्ठा प्रायोगिक प्रयोजन से होम आदि का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। बृहद् **ब्रह्म संहिता** के अध्याय १.२.१-१२३ सम्पूर्ण विशेषतः ६८-१०८ में चिह्नों का उद्भव इसकी रक्षा शक्ति आदि का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। **लक्ष्मीतंत्र** के अध्याय २९.५५-७१ मंत्र रचना आदि बीज और पिण्ड एवं ३०.१-६५ सम्पूर्ण, ३१.१-३२ प्रयोग प्रभाव, ३३-४४ सुदर्शन गायत्री-मुद्रा, ४५-३ सुदर्शन का वर्णन, **विष्वक्सेन-संहिता** २०-१४४, ३२.२-१४, १९-२५ में भी वर्णन उपलब्ध है। **शेष-संहिता** २४.१-१०अ, ४७.१-२६, ४८.१-३अ, **श्रीप्रश्न संहिता** २९.१८८ब-२२६ अ में पूजा की विधियों का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। इसके साथ ही **सनत्कुमार संहिता** के शिवरात्र ३.११-२९ में सुदर्शन मंत्र के विकल्पों के प्रयोग का प्रभाव प्राप्त होता है।

अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता में 'सुदर्शन सहस्रनाम स्तोत्र' का विशद वर्णन किया गया है। सुदर्शन की फलश्रुति इस प्रकार है—

इत्येतत् कथितं दिव्यं सर्वपापप्रणाशनम्।
सर्वशत्रुक्षयकरं सर्वसंपत्प्रदायकम्॥
सर्वसौभाग्यजनकं सर्वमंगलकारकम्।
सर्वदारिद्र्यशमनं सर्वोपद्रवनाशनम्।
सर्वशान्तिकरं गुह्यं सर्वरोगनिवारणम्।
अतिबन्धग्रहहरं सर्वदुःखनिवारकम्॥
नाम्नां सहस्रं दिव्यानां चक्रराजस्य सत्पतेः।
नामानि हेतिराजस्य ये पठन्तीह मानवाः।
तेषां भवन्ति सकलाः संपदो नात्र संशयः॥

—**अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता**, भाग-दो, पृ० ६३२.

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१३. **अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता** २ : ६-७.

पाठसम्पादन शास्त्र या पाठचिकित्सा शास्त्र एक विवेचन

डॉ० प्रमोद लाले

गणेशनगर (पुणे)

The science of Textual Criticism aims at restoring a text to its original form. The author in this paper, has elaborated the need and meaning of textual criticism, classification of available manuscripts, guiding principles and problems faced in its examination, probable mistakes done by scribes, and decisive factor in choosing a certain reading as the original form of the text.

पाठचिकित्सा या पाठसंशोधनविद्या अंग्रेजी के (textual criticism) का पर्यायवाची शब्द है। पाठ का अर्थ है मूलग्रंथ, वाक्य, शब्द, या उनके रूप। इस अर्थ से लगता है कि संबंध 'पठन' से है। इस शब्द का प्रयोग उस समय अधिक प्रचलित हुआ होगा जब मौखिक वाङ्मय लिपिबद्ध हुआ होगा। 'परंपरा में जो पठित होता हो' अथवा 'परंपरा से चले आये हुए रूपों से बनी हुई जो संहिता हो', इस अर्थ में पाठ शब्द प्रयुक्त होने लगा। इन पाठों से बनी हुई संहिता का फिर मूल-स्थापन करने का प्रयत्न पाठ-चिकित्सा कहलाता है। *Encyclopaedia Britannica* में J. P. Pastgate कहते हैं: "Textual Criticism is a general term given to the skilled and methodical application of human Judgement to the sentiment of text ... the aim of the Textual Critic is the restoration of a text, as for as possible, to its original form, the form intended by the author". (p. 92-93).

पाठ-चिकित्सा भिन्न-भिन्न पाठभेदों की मीमांसा भी करती है। उस शास्त्र में ऐसे सिद्धान्त बताये गये हैं, जिन्हें कार्यान्वित करते हुए हम यथासंभव मूलपाठ को

निर्धारित कर सकते हैं। पाठभेदों की प्रवृत्ति प्रधानतः प्रतिलिपियों में पाई जाती है। मुद्रण-विज्ञान आने से पहले किसी प्रतिलिपिकार से पुस्तक की प्रतियाँ तैयार कराई जाती थीं। हो सकता है कि प्रतिलिपि-लेखक अलग-अलग प्रान्तों तथा अलग-अलग भाषा बोलने वाले हों। उनके द्वारा ग्रंथों की ख्याति या प्रसार हुआ करता था और तद्द्वारा ज्ञानप्रसार भी होता था। अतः प्रतिलिपियाँ बनाना या बनवाना ज्ञानार्जन का एक प्रमुख-मार्ग था।

इसका एक निर्देश राजशेखर ने किया है। वह कहता है—**प्रबन्धमनेकादर्शगतं कुर्यात्**[१] इसका आशय उस ग्रंथ के अनुवादक केदारनाथ शर्मा ने इस तरह स्पष्ट किया है—"कवि को चाहिए कि अपना प्रबंध पूर्णरूपेण संपन्न हो जाने पर उसे सभाओं में सुनाकर, विद्वानों को सूचना देकर, उसकी अनेक प्रतिलिपियाँ कराकर, तथा अन्यान्य समुपलब्ध साधनों द्वारा उसका प्रचार करे।"

सात कारणों से प्रबंधों का उच्छेद होता है। अतः ग्रंथ की प्रतिलिपियाँ बार-बार की जानीं चाहिए।[२] इस तरह प्रतिलिपियाँ बनाने का एक मुख्य कार्य प्राचीन भारत में चलता था। हो सकता है कि प्रतिलिपिकार पर्याप्त जानकार न हो या उसे लिपि करने की त्वरा (जल्दी) हो। इन कारणों से लेखक अंत में संभाव्य त्रुटियों के लिए क्षमा याचना करते थे। कई पांडुलिपियों में यह श्लोक पाया जाता है :—

"वर्णहीनं पदभ्रष्टं मात्राबिन्दुविवर्जितम्।
क्षमां कुर्वन्तु विद्वांसो मम दोषो न लिप्यते॥

वैसे तो यह श्लोक सावधानी के तौर पर लिखा जाता है—

यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया।
यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न विद्यते॥

ये जो संभाव्य दोष हैं उनमें प्रमुख हैं अक्षरभ्रंश, पदभ्रंश, वाक्यभ्रंश इत्यादि।

एक पांडुलिपि में यदि कुछ दोष पाये जायें तो उन्हें ठीक करने के हेतु से परवर्ती लिपिकार उनको अपनी बुद्धि से शुद्ध कर देता है। ऐसे संस्कारों से ही अनेक पाठभेद पैदा होते हैं। मूलपाठ शुद्ध होने पर भी कभी-कभी लिपिकार अपनी समझ से उनमें परिवर्तन कर देता है। यों कहा जा सकता है कि लिपिकार की प्रवृत्ति सरलीकरण की ओर रहती है।

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१. राजशेखर, **काव्यमीमांसा**, १.

२. निक्षेपो विक्रयं दानं ..... पञ्च काव्यमहापदः ॥ **काव्यमीमांसा**

यही कारण है कि अनेक पाण्डुलिपियों में पाठ-प्रक्षेप (Interpolation) तथा स्थानान्तरण (Transposition) के कई उदाहरण मिलते हैं।[३]

इन प्रक्षेपों के कारणों में स्वाभिप्राय प्रकटन का कारण प्रमुख है। समकालीन कुछ विचारों को ग्रंथ में निविष्ट कराने की प्रवृत्ति इसके पीछे रहती है।[४]

इस विवेचन से यह बात स्पष्ट हुई होगी कि लिपिकार से बुद्धिपूर्वक या अबुद्धिपूर्वक कुछ दोष उत्पन्न हो जाते हैं, जिनमें प्रक्षेप, अवक्षेप, व्यत्यास प्रमुख हैं। इसी कारण ग्रंथ-संपादन के कार्य में पाठ-चिकित्सा की आवश्यकता संपादक को प्रतीत होती है। मूल-पाठ-स्थापन एक कला थी, जो आजकल शास्त्र बन गया है। उसके कुछ सिद्धान्त स्थिर हो गये हैं। इनका एक शास्त्रीय और पांडित्यपूर्ण विवेचन पहले-पहल किया है डॉ० सुकथनकर ने। **महाभारत** के चिकित्सित संस्करण का जब भांडारकर संस्था ने निर्णय किया, तो कुछ मार्गदर्शक तत्त्व आवश्यक बन गये, जो सभी संपादकों की समान हों। इन सिद्धान्तों का शास्त्रीय विवेचन डॉ० सुकथनकर ने किया है। वे कहते हैं -the problem is a problem of *sui generis,* we can only reconstruct the oldest form of the text, which it is possible to reach on the basis of the Manuscript material available. We have to content ourselves with selecting the readings apparently the earliest and choosing that form of the text which commends itself by its documentary probability and intrinsic merit recording against most carefully the variants, and the additions and omissions.

इन सब समस्याओं को ध्यान में रखकर संपादक अनुमानित मूलरूप संहिता तैयार कर सकता है। कोई अनुसंधानकर्त्ता या अध्येता जो संहिता तैयार करेगा वह अनुमानित ही होती है। पाठ-निश्चितीकरण की प्रक्रिया को Constitutio textus और सिद्ध संहिता को Constituted text कहा जाता है। यह संहिता उपलब्ध प्रतियों और साधनों की परिधि में निर्धारित की जाती है।

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३. इस विषय पर मध्वाचार्य ने अपने **महाभारत तात्पर्यनिर्णय**' में कुछ विवेचन किया है। उस पर टीका लिखने वाले वादिराज ने उसका और विस्तार किया है।

४. पृष्ठ २३ (अ), पां. लि. क्र. २७५/ १८९२-९५, भांडारकर संग्रह। हेमाद्रि ने '**आयुर्वेदरसायन**' नामक टीकात्मक ग्रंथ लिखा है। उसमें एक स्थान पर '**पिण्डालु** और '**ववभालु**' 'इन दो पाठों की चर्चा की है।—**आयुर्वेदरसायन**, श्लोक १-९.

इस संबंध में सुकथनकर, कत्रे आदि विद्वानों ने कुछ मार्गदर्शक सूचनाएँ दी हैं। उस समीक्षा को हम **बहिरंग मूल समीक्षा** (Lower Criticism) कह सकते हैं।

उपलब्ध प्रतियों के आधार पर यह समीक्षा की जाती है। इस अध्ययन की सामग्री का कालक्रम तथा गुणक्रम के अनुसार व्यवस्था करना आवश्यक हो जाता है। इस पद्धति में कुछ काम करना संपादक के लिए आवश्यक है। जैसे—पांडुलिपियों की प्रतियाँ और उनकी जाँच-पड़ताल; पांडुलिपियों के परस्पर सूत्र का संबंध निश्चित करना, उनका वर्गीकरण, प्रतियों का वंशवृक्ष बनाना, स्वीकृत या अस्वीकृत पाठों का पाठभेद; संहितांशलोप आदियों के तुलनात्मक संबंध प्रदर्शित करना। प्रतीकरण, संक्रमण की पूर्वपीठिका, काल, प्रति करने वाले की तथा उसके आश्रयदाता की जानकारी देना, अनालोचित पांडुलिपियों तथा प्रक्षेपों के कारण बताना आदि आदि।

संहितामूल अंतरंग समीक्षा या Higher Criticism का प्रत्यक्ष संबंध पाठ-संपादन के काम में नहीं रहता है।

कभी-कभी पाठनिर्धारण में अन्य ग्रंथों के उद्धरणों की सहायता ली जा सकती है। एक ही पंक्ति या श्लोक अन्य ग्रंथों में जब उद्धृत होते हैं, तब उनके पाठों के पीछे कई प्रभाव काम करते हैं उनमें सबसे महत्त्व का है—**विषयतारतम्य**। एक ग्रंथ में कोई श्लोक एक संदर्भ में आया हो, और दूसरा रचयिता उसे किसी अन्य संबंध में उद्धृत करता हो तो ऐसी स्थिति में पाठों में परिवर्तन होने की संभावना रहती है। **नाट्यशास्त्र** में समवकार रूपक की छन्द- योजना के संबंध में एक अभिप्राय है—

उष्णिग्गामभ्याद्यान्यन्यानि च यानि बन्धकुटिलानि।
वृत्तानि समवकारे कविभिर्नैव प्रयोज्यानि॥

यह उद्‌भट का पाठ है जिसमें धर्म-काम-शृंगार का संदर्भ है। पर अभिनवगुप्त का पाठ अलग है, जिसका सन्ध्यंगों से संबंध है और जिसमें विद्रव और कपट का उल्लेख है—

उष्णिग्गायत्र्याद्यान्यन्यानि च यानि बन्धकुटिलानि।
वृत्तानि समवकारे कविभिस्तानि प्रयोज्यानि॥

(नाट्यशास्त्र, १८.६८)

पहले उद्धरण का नकारात्मक तथा दूसरे का सकारात्मक आदेश संदर्भों के कारण प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

इसी तरह वृत्तियों की विशेषताएँ बताने वाले जो श्लोक **नाट्यशास्त्र** में हैं, उनके पाठान्तर भी मतभेदों के संदर्भ में हुये हैं। ऐसी स्थितियों में पूर्वापर संबंधों को देखकर पाठ-निर्धारण करना चाहिए। वृत्तियों के संबंध में अभिनवगुप्त का पाठ

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण के पाठ से साम्य रखता है, जो प्राचीन है—

हास्यशृङ्गारबहुला कैशिकी परिचक्षिता।
सात्त्वती चापि विज्ञेया वीराद्भुतसमाश्रया॥
रौद्रे भयानके चैव विज्ञेयारभटी बुधैः।
बीभत्से करुणे चैव भारती संप्रकीर्तिता॥

(**नाट्यशास्त्र**, २०.७३-७४)

इसमें कोहल के लक्षण अलग हैं और वे ही हैं जो विद्यानाथ ने **प्रतापरुद्रीय** में स्वीकृत किये हैं—

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणैर्वृत्तिः स्यात् कैशिकी रसैः।
सात्त्वती नाम सा ज्ञेया वीररौद्राद्भुते सति।
भयानके च बीभत्से रौद्रे चारभटी भवेत्।
भारती चापि विज्ञेया करुणाद्भुतरूपयोः॥

(**नाट्यशास्त्र**, २० : ७३-७४)

'उत्सृष्टिकांक' (या उत्सृष्टाङ्क) के लक्षण में ये भेद स्पष्टतः दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं। कोहल के अनुसार उसमें कैशिकी नाट्यवृत्ति होनी चाहिए, पर शंकुक के अनुसार उसमें सात्त्वती वृत्ति ही रहती है। पर अभिनवगुप्त उसमें भारती वृत्ति मानते हैं। कोहल में—**वीराद्भुतसमाश्रया** के बदले '**वीराद्भुतशमाश्रया**' पाठ है जिसके कारण वृत्तियों की धारणा में भेद आ गया है।

इसी तरह पुष्पगण्डिका (लास्यांङ्ग) के लक्षणों में भी मतभेदों के अनुसार पाठभेद हुए हैं।

न— **नृत्तं तु विविधं यत्र गीतमातोद्यमेव च।**
स्त्रियः पुंवच्च चेष्टन्ते सा ज्ञेया पुष्पगण्डिका।

ङ— **यत्र स्त्री नरवेषेण ललितं संस्कृतं पठेत्।**
सखीनां तु विनोदाय सा ज्ञेया पुष्पगन्धिका॥

प-(शङ्कुक) **वृत्तानि विविधानि स्युर्गेयं चातोद्यसंश्रितम्।**
चेष्टा च विविधा पुंसां यत्र सा पुष्पगण्डिका॥

अभिनवगुप्त पहले पाठ में पौरुष क्रिया पर जोर देते हैं। दूसरे श्लोक में पाठ गीत और वाद्य की अपेक्षा नृत्य पर अधिक जोर है। तीसरे श्लोक में पुरुषवेष से चेटियों का रंजन करने का विचार अधिक महत्त्व का है।

इस तरह हमें यह स्पष्ट दिखाई पड़ता है कि संक्रमित मूल संहिता (Transmitted text) तैयार करने के लिए संपादक उपलब्ध प्रतियों का सहारा लेकर

तथा किसी आधारलिपि (Exemplar) को सामने रखकर निर्दोष प्रति तैयार करने के लिए भरसक प्रयत्न करता है। हाँ, उसको कुछ भ्रष्ट प्रतियों का भी सामना करना पड़ता है। फिर भी अपने अनुभव, सूक्ष्म-निरीक्षण तथा सूझबूझ के आधार पर वह योग्य पाठों का चयन करने में प्रवृत्त होता है और ऐसी एक प्रति बनाता है, जिसमें आधार संमिश्रण या Eclectic fusion हुआ हो।

जिन भिन्न भिन्न पांडुलिपियों का उपयोग लेखक करता है उनकी शास्त्रीय या वैज्ञानिक रीति से आलोचनात्मक व्यवस्था सबसे पहले होनी चाहिये। इस व्यवस्था में उपलब्ध पांडुलिपियाँ, उनका काल, परस्पर संबंध आदि अनेक अंगों का समावेश होता है। प्रतियों का परंपराओं के आधार पर एक इतिहास तैयार करना, पाठ-निश्चितीकरण प्रविधि का एक प्रमुख अंग है **भगवद्गीता, भागवतपुराण,** भिन्न-भिन्न देवताओं के स्तोत्र, भाष्य, जैसे ग्रंथों की संप्रदायों के आधार पर एक परंपरा रहती है। उस परंपरा का प्रतिबिंब उस संप्रदाय से चली आ रही पांडुलिपियों पर अवश्य रहता है। इसे संहिता-संक्रमण की स्थिरपद प्रक्रिया कहा जा सकता है। यह पाठ निश्चितीकरण परंपरा के पाठों को ध्यान में रखकर किया जाना चाहिए। इस परंपरा में मौखिक या लोकस्वीकृत पाठों का भी पर्याप्त महत्त्व है।

परम्परा के आधार पर बदले हुए पाठों का एक उदाहरण यहाँ प्रस्तुत है।

तस्य पूर्वाभिषेकस्तु भद्राश्वस्य .... (भीष्म. ८:१३)[५]

प्राचीन जावा की प्रति में—पूर्वाभिसङ्गस्तु पाठ है। नीलकंठ का पाठ है (चित्रशाला प्रेस, पूना) मूर्धाभिषेकस्तु, पूर्व का अर्थ पूर्व-दिशा, पूर्व दिशा की ओर पर्वत का जो भाग था, उसे 'अभिषेक' या जलार्द्र, जलधारक कहा गया है। अतः अन्य दो पाठों को लेने या पाठांतरों की विशेष आवश्यकता नहीं थी। लेकिन टीकाकारों के प्रदेशों या लिपियों में कुछ पाठ परंपरा से आये होंगे, जिन्हें उन्होंने अपनाया होगा।

गायकवाड संस्कृत सीरिज, बड़ौदा ने भरत के **नाट्यशास्त्र** के दो संस्करण प्रकाशित किये हैं। पहले संस्करण में पाठ पूरी तरह शुद्ध या निर्दोष नहीं है। पाठ निर्धारण शास्त्र के अनुसार दूसरा संस्करण अधिक प्रामाणिक और सुगढ़ है। इसके कई पाठों में ऐसे भेद हैं जो सिद्धान्तों को बाधक भी हो जाते हैं। उदाहरणार्थ—पहले संस्करण में 'भावा इति करणसाधनो' ऐसी एक उक्ति है। इसके आधार पर बारलिंगे जैसे आलोचकों ने 'करण' का अर्थ रस लिया है। पर 'करण' का सर्वश्रुत अर्थ है 'साधन'। दूसरे संस्करण के अनुसार भाव कारण-साधन-निमित्त या हेतु हैं। वे

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५. भीष्म पर्व—८.१३, जावा के पाठ में 'अभिषङ्ग' है जिसका अर्थ क्रोध या आवेग होगा।

रसव्यापक हैं, रस का निर्माण करते हैं। लेकिन यह पाठ अभिनवगुप्त के अभिप्रायों को अनुकूल नहीं है। संभव है कि रस के संबंध में भरत के विचार अलग हों। भरत के विचारों के अनुसार सामाजिक नाट्यरस में अनुप्रवेश करते हैं। शोक से शोकमय भय से भयपीड़ित होते हैं। रस का आस्वाद केवल आनंदरूप नहीं होता है, वह हर्ष-खेद से मिश्रित रहता है। यह अनुभव भी लौकिक है। अभिनवगुप्त रसों को अपेक्षाकृत मानसिक या कभी-कभी अलौकिक मानते हैं।

भगवद्गीता के पाठों में भी भाष्यकारों के अनुसार पाठांतर दिखाई पड़ते हैं। भांडारकर आवृत्ति के भीष्मपर्व के संपादक डॉ० बेलवलकर ने आचार्यों के भाष्यों में पाये जाने वाले गीता के पाठभेदों की एक तालिका दी है (LXXIV-LXXVII) LXXVIII से LXXXI पर काश्मीर संस्करण से कुछ पाठभेद देकर बेलवलकरजी कहते हैं कि उपलब्ध **गीता** में जो व्याकरण दोष यत्र-तत्र दिखाई पड़ते हैं, उनको निकालने के लिए काश्मीरी संस्करण में कुछ परिवर्तन किये गये हैं। नमूने के लिए ये कुछ उदाहरण देखिये :—

एतं मे संशयम्	←	**एतन्मे संशयम् (६.३९)**
प्रतिजानेऽहम्	←	**(९.३१)**
अलौल्यं च	←	**अलोक (१६.२)**

कभी-कभी प्रयोग शुद्धि के लिए (Syntax) भी कुछ पाठांतर किये गये है।

नायकान्	←	**नायकाः (१.७)**
योगमात्मनि	←	**योगमात्मनः (८.१)**
विभूतीरात्मनः शुभा :	←	**दिव्या ह्यात्मनिभूतयः**
जन्मकर्मफलेप्सवः	←	**जन्मकर्मफलप्रदा**

इस प्रकार संपादन के लिए इन अंगों पर प्रमुखतः ध्यान देना चाहिए :—

(१) मूलभूत चिकित्सा सामग्री

(२) उपर्युक्त सामग्री की संकेतपूर्वक रचना या व्यवस्था

(३) इसको चिकित्सित रचना कह सकते हैं, क्योंकि चिकित्सक-प्रति सिद्ध करते समय संपादक भिन्न पाठों के साथ उनकी लिपियाँ, टिप्पणियाँ, वर्णाधान, वर्णविपर्यय, लोप, त्रुटि, व्याकरण प्रमाद, इत्यादि की सांकेतिक जानकारी देता है।

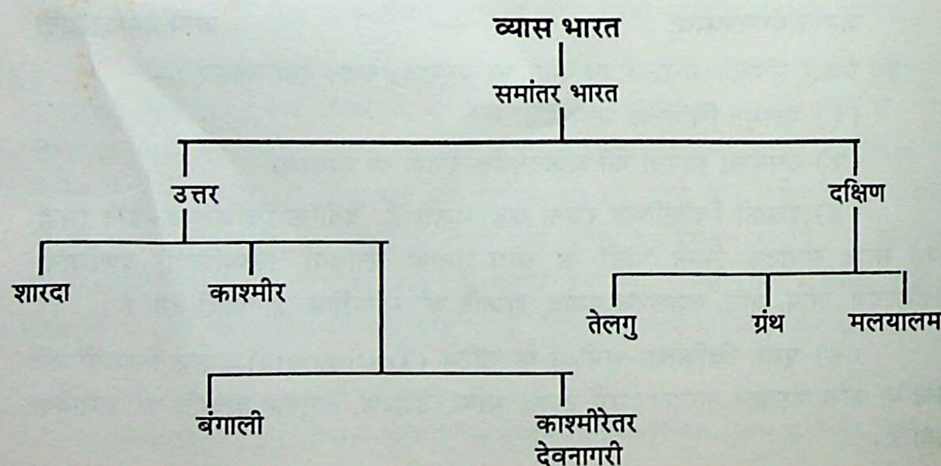
(४) पूरक चिकित्सा-समीक्षा के जरिये (Testimonia)—प्राप्त निष्कर्षों की पुष्टि या जाँच पड़ताल करना। इसमें टीका, भाष्य, उद्धरण, अनुवाद इत्यादि का समावेश होता है।

(५) उपलब्ध प्रतियों के पाठों की तुलना करना—पाठसंतुलन (Collation)। संग्रह और संकलन अलग संकल्पनाएं है।

(६) पाठ संतुलन के लिए मूल प्रति की अधिक विश्वासार्हलिपि को प्रचलित प्रति या Vulgate Text कहते हैं।

(७) इसको इष्टफलावसायी बनाने के लिए ऐसा एक चार्ट बनाना चाहिए जो उपलब्ध सभी प्रतियों के परस्पर संबंध दिखा सके। इस चार्ट से प्रतियों के कुल-संबंध, शाखा संबंध, मिश्रण-संबंध स्पष्ट होते हैं। इन संबंधों को दर्शाने वाला आलेख Pedigree या Stemma Codicun या genealogical tree कहलाता है। इस आलेखन से प्रति < मालिकामूल प्रति < संबंध मूल प्रति < नकल प्रति < समांतर मूलरूप ..... कुल संबंध आदि बातें स्पष्ट हो जाती हैं।

आजकल प्रतियों के संकलन और व्यस्थापन को वंशवृक्ष (Genealogy) कहा जाता है, लेकिन वंशवृक्ष के पीछे व्यवहार में एक संकेत रूढ़ हो गया है, अतः शायद 'कुलवृक्ष' शब्द अधिक योग्य प्रतीत होगा। पांडुलिपियों की संख्या अधिक न हो, तो उसका कुलवृक्ष या Pedigree अधिक फलदायी हो सकता है। इसके लिये सामग्री संतुलन या Stemma शब्द है। मूलग्रंथ की प्रतियाँ तथा प्रतियों के स्वरूप को ग्रहण करने के लिए सहायता देने वाली अन्य सामग्री को इन दोनों के परस्पर संबंधों का अवगाहन करने के लिए इकट्ठा करके विशिष्ट तरह से उसकी रचना करनी पड़ती है। यह कुलवृक्ष की रचना के समान ही होती है। यदि कुलवृक्ष प्रतियों के संबंधों का निदर्शक हो, तो कुल-सामग्री प्रति तथा अन्य सामग्री के तुलनात्मक संबंधों की निदर्शक है। कुलवृक्ष या Pedigree प्रति का यह उदाहरण देखा जा सकता है। सुकथनकर ने अपने आरण्यक पर्व की संशोधित प्रति में यह आलेख दिया है (पृ० XIII)



उपलब्ध प्रतियों के संप्रदाय, उनकी विश्वासार्हता, अधिक प्रामाणिकता, प्रतियों की आधारप्रति, उसका महत्त्व, यदि आधार प्रतियाँ अनेक हों तो उनसे बने हुए सीधी या भाषा परंपरा से बनी हुई प्रतियों में संमिश्र पाठ किस प्रति में कैसे हैं, भिन्न-भिन्न प्रतियों में कहाँ तक संगति है, इत्यादि बातों के अध्ययन के लिए कुलमूलपद्धति या Genealogical Method का प्रयोग किया जाता है।

हाल ने त्रुटियों का एक मार्मिक विश्लेषण किया है, जिसे डॉ० कत्रे ने उल्लिखित किया है—[६]

(१) Confusion of Similar letters and Syllables.

(२) Mistranscription of words through general resemblance.

(३) Misinterpretation of Contractions.

(४) Wrong Combination or Separation.

इन विषयों को दृष्टि में रखकर भांडारकर चिकित्सित संस्करण के संपादकों ने कुछ नियम बनाकर पाठों का चयन किया है। जहाँ जहाँ वे लहरीली लकीर से अधोरेखित किये गये हैं, वहाँ पर पाठ समझना चाहिये ताकि पाठ निश्चिति संदिग्ध हो, यद्यपि वह पाठ स्वीकृत किया गया है। जहाँ पर पाठ पर्याप्त भिन्न या अपरिवर्तनीय हो, वहाँ पर प्राचीन प्रति का आधार लिया गया है। उदाहरणार्थ उद्योगपर्व के संपादन कार्य में उत्तर भारतीय तथा दक्षिण भारतीय पांडुलिपियों का सहारा लिया फिर भी दुविधा में पड़ जाने पर उन्होंने उत्तर भारतीय पाठ को ही स्वीकृत किया है। यह बात कुछ उदाहरणों से स्पष्ट हो जाएगी (सब उदाहरण उद्योगपर्व से लिए गये हैं)

उत्तर भारतीय (Northern)	दक्षिण भारतीय *(Southern)*

कुछ व्याकरण दोषों का परिहार करने हेतु दक्षिण-भारत के संस्करण में कुछ पाठान्तर स्वीकृत हैं। पर 'डे' ने उनको नहीं लिया है। व्याकरणीय पाठों को शायद आदि पाठ समझकर उन्होंने उत्तर भारतीय पाठों को ज्यों का त्यों रख दिया है।

विचीय	**विचिनोति**
	वृणुयाम्
राधाया : प्रादात्	**राधोये प्रादात्**
	आदधाः
गान्ति	**गायन्ति**

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६. डॉ० कत्रे—*Introduction to Textual Criticism pp. 55, 56.*

दक्षिण भारतीय पाठों को सुगम बनाने के लिए कुछ पाठ बदल दिये गये हैं।

कृष्णं चापहृतं ज्ञात्वा	**कृष्णं चापि महाबाहुं**
युद्धान्मेते जितं जयम्	
महान् ज्ञातिवधे क्षयः।	**सुमहान् ज्ञातिसंशयम्।**

कभी कभी सन्धि के विभंग (hiatus) **को दूर करने के लिए —**

आचार्याश्च ऋत्विजो	—	**आचार्याश्चाप्यृत्विजो।**
अनाहूतः प्रविशति अपृष्टो	—	**अनाहूतः संप्रविशेदपृष्टो।**
कृष्ण अस्मिन् यज्ञे	—	**कृष्ण तस्मिन् यज्ञे।**
जातु अनाश्रित्य महाद्रुमम्	—	**जातु महाद्रुममनाश्रिता॥**

डॉ० सुकथनकर ने अपना उद्देश पहले ही स्पष्ट किया था। **महाभारत** की प्रामाणिक आवृत्ति सिद्ध करने वाले विद्वानों की यह इच्छा है कि यह आवृत्ति सिद्ध करने के लिए **महाभारत** के सभी महत्त्वपूर्ण संस्करणों की अन्वीक्षा की जाय, सभी प्रमुख पांडुलिपियों के पाठ विचार में लाये जायें और उनका यथातथ्य प्रयोग किया जाय।

चूँकि इस आवृत्ति में भिन्न-भिन्न पाठभेदों को उल्लिखित किया है, इसलिए शायद पहली बार पाठकों को यह अवसर मिले कि उसके सामने सभी पाठ मौजूद होगे।

इसकी दूसरी भी एक विशेषता होगी। आवृत्ति तैयार करते समय **महाभारत** की किसी भी पांडुलिपि में पाये जाने वाले पाठों को अवश्य उल्लिखित किया जाएगा चाहे स्वीकृत पाठ कोई भी हो। अतः किसी भी पूर्व प्रकाशित आवृत्ति से यह आवृत्ति अधिक उपयोगी सिद्ध होगी।

पांडुलिपियों के श्लोक संग्रहण की पद्धति यह है—कागज के शीर्षस्थान पर **महाभारत** के पर्व का श्लोक लिखा जाता है, जिनकी लिखावट काफी मोटी रहती है। इसी कागज पर एक-एक पंक्ति पांडुलिपि की दी जाती है, जिस पर संग्राहक उसमें उपलब्ध समान श्लोक का एक-एक अक्षर लिखता जाता है। यह आदर्श प्रति के पाठ के ठीक नीचे अनुलंबित खाने में लिखा जाता है। इस कागज की दाहिनी ओर कुछ खाली जगह छोड़ी जाती है, जिसमें आवश्यक टिप्पणियाँ या अतिरिक्त श्लोकों को उतारा जाता है। यदि अतिरिक्त श्लोकों की संख्या अधिक हो तो उन्हें अलग शोधपत्रों में प्रविष्ट किया जाता है और मूल संग्रह पत्रों को जोड़ दिया जाता है।[७]

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७. डॉ० कत्रे, पृ० ३१.

इस प्रकार हर एक श्लोक के पाठभेद यथासंभव नोट किये जाते हैं।

महाभारत की पांडुलिपियों को इकट्ठा करने का काम बड़ा ही क्लिष्ट था। पांडुलिपियों के कुछ संग्रहण गोल्डश्टुकर जैसे यूरोपीय विद्वानों ने किये थे। लूडर्स जैसे विद्वान् तथा उनके शिष्यों ने भी इस तरह के प्रयास किये थे। उन सबको तथा भारत में उपलब्ध लगभग सोलह पांडुलिपियों को संग्राहकों को दे दिया गया। ध्यातव्य है कि सबसे पुरानी लिपि नेपाल में मिली थी, जिस पर सन् १५११ अंकित किया गया था।

पांडुलिपियों का वर्गीकरण लिपियों के आधार पर किया गया था, क्योंकि संस्कृत भाषा होने से पांडुलिपियाँ भारत की अलग-अलग लिपियों में लिखी गयी थीं। संस्करण और लिपियों का यह देशगत संबंध बहुत प्राचीन है। नीलकंठ की टीकावाला **महाभारत** चार लिपियों में लिखा हुआ था। लेकिन कभी कभी भांडारकर संस्करण के जो पाठ हैं, उनके बारे में उनकी प्रामाणिकता पर संदेह होने लगता है। सुकथनकर के सिद्धान्तों के पालन में कभी-कभी वाधा आ जाती है। मतलब यह है कि **महाभारत** जैसे विशाल ग्रंथों के संपादन कार्य में कुछ सिद्धान्तों के शिथिल पड़ जाने का डर रहता है। एक उदाहरण मननीय है। **गीता** के पहले अध्याय का यह श्लोक और उसमें एक शब्द महत्त्व का है, जो चिकित्सा के निर्धारित सिद्धान्तों का अपवाद माना जा सकता है—

सञ्जय उवाच :
एवमुक्त्वार्जुनः संख्ये रथोपस्थ उपाविशत्।
विसृज्य सशरं चापं शोकसंविग्नमानसः॥

(गीता. I. ४)

रथोपस्थ उपाविशत् —यह पाठ बहुत सी प्रतियों में पाया जाता है। पर भांडारकर संस्करण में स्वीकृत हुआ है। उसी पृष्ठ पर पादटिप्पणी में '**रथोपस्थ-मुपाविशत्**' पाठ दिया है। सामान्यतः '**रथोपस्थ**' का '**रथ का पीछेवाला आसन**' ऐसा अर्थ लिया जाता है। **शांकरभाष्य** के टीकाकार आनन्दगिरि ने '**मध्ये रथस्य**' ऐसा स्पष्टीकरण दिया है। मधुसूदन सरस्वती, धनपति, श्रीधर के अनुसार उसका अर्थ है—स्थस्य उपरि। वेदान्तदेशिक की टीका अधिक स्पष्ट है। वे अपनी **तात्पर्यचन्द्रिका** में कहते हैं—रथोपस्थे रथिस्थानात् विनिवृत्य रथोत्संग उपाविशत्, इति भावः।

एक और उदाहरण देखें :—

इत्युक्त्वा माधवं कर्णः परिष्वज्य च पीडितम्।
विसर्जितः केशवेन रथोपस्थादवातरम्॥
ततस्ते जवना धुर्या जानुभ्यामगमन्महीम्।
उत्तरश्चापि सन्यस्तो रथोपस्थ उपाविशत्।।

स नृत्यन् वै रथोपस्थे दर्शयन् पाणिलाघवम्।
अलातचक्रवद्राजंस्तत्र तत्र स्म दृश्यते॥ (भीष्म: ५५२)

(इसका अनुवाद करते हुए केसरि मोहन गांगुली ने 'रथोपस्थे' का अनुवाद along the track of his car ऐसा किया है—पृ० १४८)।

पांडुलिपियों में त्रुटियों की संभावनाएँ—

(१) कभी कभी पांडुलिपि तैयार करने वाले की असावधानी से कोई अक्षर रह जाय, तो एक अलग ही शब्द बन जाता है—
जैसे :— प्रखर → खर; सकल →कल; आभास→ भास।

(२) कभी-कभी वर्णविपर्यय हो जाता है। जैसे—प्रणाम →प्रमाण

(३) लिप्यन्तर से भी अक्षर बदल जाते हैं।

(४) शब्दों की तोड़फोड़ से भी अलग अर्थवाले शब्द निर्मित होते हैं।

(५) काल-विपर्यय से कुछ पाठ लिखित पांडुलिपियों में आ जाते हैं।

(६) लिखने वाला अज्ञानी हो, तो, और उसे कोई शब्द कठिन लगे तो उसके बदले वह उसको समझने में आने वाला आसान शब्द लिख देता है।
'एतद्रणं हतगजाश्वनरेन्द्रयौधं' के बदले 'एतद्रणास्तव'
(बालचरित II. २०)

कृत्वा सुराँस्तान् हतशत्रुपक्षान् →
→ कृत्वा सुराणां हतशत्रुपक्षान्।

(७) प्राचीन काल में बहुत सी लिपियाँ थी, उस समय में सब दूर प्रचलित ब्राह्मी लिपि में लिखा गयी होंगी। लेकिन आये दिन उसको कुछ लेखकों ने देवनागरी (नन्दिनागरी, जैन देवनागरी आदि भेदों के साथ) लिखने में लिप्यन्तरित किया होगा। इसलिए ऐसी स्थिति में टीकाकारों का सहारा लेकर पाठनिश्चिति की जा सकती है। ब्राह्मी में कौतुकं का रूपान्तर केतकं में होना सहज है। **रघुवंश** का एक श्लोक यह है—

दूरापवर्जितच्छत्रैस्तस्यासां शासनार्पिताम्।
दधुः शिरोभिर्भूपाला शेषां पौरन्दरीमिव॥ (१७.७९)

यहाँ पर मल्लिनाथ 'देवा:' पाठ को स्वीकार करते हैं।

वैसे ही—

उत्थापितः संयति रेणुरश्वैः सान्द्रीकृतः स्यन्दनवंशचक्रैः।
विस्तारितः कुञ्जरकर्णतालैरनुक्रमेणोपरुरोध सूर्यम्॥ ७.३९

यहाँ पर मल्लिनाथ का पाठ है 'नेत्रक्रमेव', यह 'क्रम' शब्द औपम्यार्थक है। इस तरह का प्रयोग कालिदास ने और किसी जगह नहीं किया है।

बहुत से टीकाकार **मेघदूत** में 'कामार्त्ता हि प्रकृतिकृपणाश्चेतनाचेतनेषु' पाठ लेते हैं। पर प्राचीन टीकाकार दक्षिणावर्तनाथ 'प्रणयकृपणा:' पाठ लेता है। कालिदास के ग्रंथों के परिशीलन से स्पष्ट होता है कि चेतनों के समान अचेतनों के साथ भी उसने प्रियाप्रवृत्तिप्रणय दिखाया है। पहले तीन चरणों में जो याचनापरक अर्थव्याप्त है उसका समर्थन प्रकृति पद करने की अपेक्षा 'प्रणय' पद से करने में अधिक औचित्य है। इस तरह के कई उदाहरण मिलते हैं जिनमें टीकाकारों के पाठ भी दोषयुक्त प्रतीत होते हैं—

जैसे—**चित्ते निवेश्य परिकल्पित सत्त्वयोगात्। अभि० २.१०.**

यहाँ पर 'चित्रे' पाठ ही योग्य प्रतीत होता है।

विक्रमोर्वशीय में यह वाक्य मिलता है—'धार्यतामयं मम प्रियाया: स्वहस्त:'। यहाँ पर 'स्वहस्त' पाठ ही ठीक है। क्योंकि उसका 'हस्ताक्षर' अर्थ (Signature) हर्षवर्धन के शासन में पाया जाता है। दूसरे अंक में और एक बार इसी अर्थ में 'हस्त' शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है—

'किं मिथ्या भवतो हृतेन दयितास्नेह: स्वहस्तेन मे' II. १९

इस तरह के जो पाठभेद जगह-जगह दिखाई पड़ते हैं उनका मूल कारण है संशोधन, जो लेखनिक युक्त करता है। कभी कभी व्याकरणसंमत होने पर भी वह अक्षर विग्रह (signature) को छोड़ देता है। भिन्न-भिन्न पांडुलिपियों में विविध तथा विरुद्ध पाठ दिखाई देते हैं, तब वह उसकी सूझबूझ को जो अच्छा लगे वही पाठ रख देता है। इस परिस्थिति में मूल कौन सा और प्रक्षिप्त या संशोधित पाठ कौन सा, यह निश्चय करना मुश्किल हो जाता है। सुकथनकर का कहना है—'ऐसे झमेले में आपातत: जो प्राचीन हो सकते हों, वैसे ही पाठ हम चुनें'।[८]

उनके सिद्धान्तों का विवेचन संक्षेप में किया गया है—

पाठचिकित्सा की प्रविधि के दो अंश हैं—

(१) संभवनीय आवृत्ति (Recensio) और

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८. अपने 'आदिपर्व' की प्रति के आरम्भ में प्रस्तावना के रूप में Prolegomena के शीर्षक से जोड़ा गया, जो बाद में Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol. I, Critical Studies in the Mahabharat नाम से अलग मुद्रित हुआ है। वी० एस० सुकथनकर स्मारक ग्रंथ संपादिका समिति, पुणे, १९४४, सम्पादक पी. के. गोडे.

(२) असंभवनीय अंशों का निराकरण (Emendatio) या पाठ स्थापना।

प्राचीन ग्रीक या लैटिन पांडुलिपियों के संपादन के काम की जो चार प्रविधियाँ हैं, उन्हें संस्कृत पाठस्थापना के संबंध में लागू किया जा सकता है—

(१) वंशवृक्ष के रूप में उपलब्ध सामग्री की रचना-संबंध-विमर्श (Heuristics); वंशवृक्षालेख (Stemma codicum) तैयार करना ।

(२) उपर्युक्त सामग्री का पुनः स्थापन.

(३) Emendation या मूललेख के पाठ को यथासंभव पुनः स्थापित करना

(४) लेखक के स्रोतों का पृथक्करण करना Higher Criticism.

इस प्रविधि के संबंध में कई मार्ग उपलब्ध होते हैं। पाठभेदों का अध्ययन तथा पाठनिर्धारण के कार्य में प्राचीन टीकाकारों या वृत्तिकारों का साहाय्य पर्याप्त महत्त्वपूर्ण रहता है। जो पाठ अपनाया गया हो, उसका समर्थन करने में टीकाकार बहुविध युक्तियाँ प्रस्तुत करते हैं[९] यदि कोई पंक्ति पूर्णतया उद्धृत की गई हो, या कोई (lemmata) के रूप में दी गई हों, तो अन्य पंक्तियों को पुनारचित करने के लिए वे काम आती हैं। कभी-कभी अवान्तर आख्यान या कुछ परिच्छेद भी अन्य ग्रंथों में उद्धृत किये जाते हैं।[१०]

फिर भी उद्योग पर्व में ऐसे सात स्थान हैं जहाँ पर एस० के० डे द्वारा hiatus संशोधनपूर्वक रखे गये हैं।

मानघ्नस्य आत्मकामस्य, दृष्ट्वैव अनयद् गृहान् । आदि

सन्धि के नियम प्रारम्भ में काफी शिथिल रहे होंगे। इसलिए प्रगृह्य को पुनः स्थापित करना दोषयुक्त नहीं है, जिससे पाठभेदों के वैविध्य की प्रतीति होती है। इसके लिए *Annals of the B.O. R.I.* Vol. 19 (1938) में P. २११ पर दिये हुए सुकथनकर के मत का उन्होंने हवाला दिया है।

कभी कभी वृत्तों में पायी गई त्रुटियों को दूर करने के लिए अन्य संस्करणों में कुछ प्रयत्न बुद्धिपूर्वक किये गये हैं। परन्तु परिवर्तनों में परंपरा का भाग बड़ा है।

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९. इस तरह के पाठभेद शास्त्रग्रंथों में भी दीख पड़ते हैं, जहाँ पर टीकाकारों ने शुद्ध पाठ का सयुक्तिक निर्धारण किया है। **मेघदूत** के विभिन्न टीकाकारों का पाठ समर्थन इस संबंध में द्रष्टव्य है।

१०. **महाभारत** के शकुलोपाख्यान (I. 62th); **पद्मपुराण में** समान्तरित हुआ है।

एस० के० डे ने अपने संपादन कार्य की विशेषताओं को (उद्योगपर्व के संपादन की हद तक) इस तरह प्रस्तुत किया है।

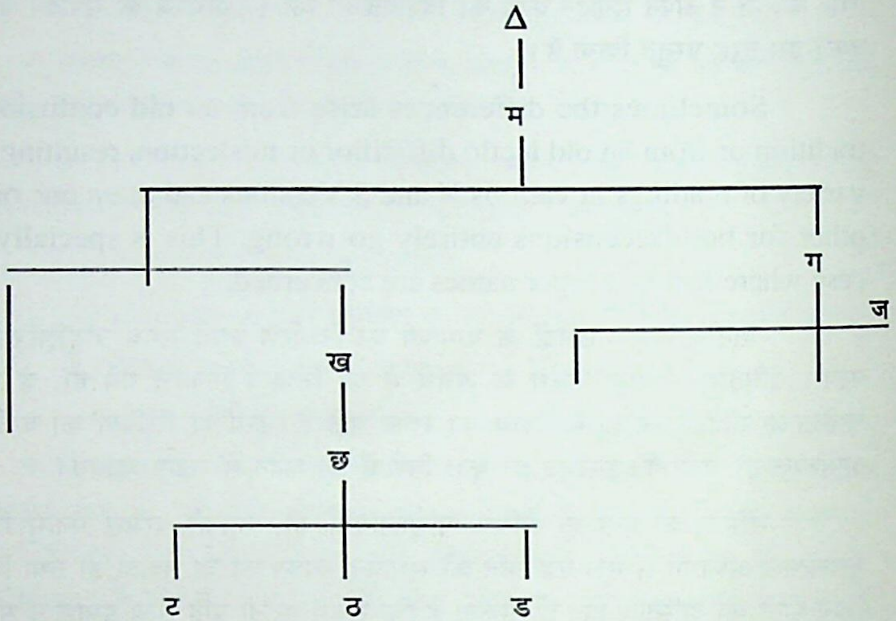
Sometimes the differences arise from an old confusion of tradition or from an old lectio difficilior or mislection, resulting in a variety of readings in various N and S Versions and often one or the other for both recensions entirely go wrong. This is specially the case where lists of proper names are concerned.

पाठांतरों या पाठभेदों के प्रामाण्य का निर्धारण करते समय पांडुलिपियों की परंपरा, इतिहास, परस्पर-संबंध के संबंध में जो निष्कर्ष निकाले गये हों, वे पाठ-समीक्षा या संहिता समीक्षा में महत्त्व का स्थान पाते हैं। इसलिए लिपियों का वर्गीकरण आवश्यक हो जाता है। इसलिए इन कुछ विशेषों को ध्यान में रखना चाहिये।

संहिता की एक या अधिक पांडुलिपियाँ हो, उनकी परंपरा एकमुखी हो, तुलनात्मक अध्ययन से मूल एक प्रति की संभावना व्यक्त की जा सकती हो तथा भिन्न-भिन्न पाठों का अस्तित्व हो। हो सकता है कि सबसे पुरानी प्रति सत्य प्रमाण न भी हो। कुलमूल पद्धति की सब सीमाओं को स्वीकार करके उपलब्ध पांडुलिपियों का निरीक्षण करके ही पाठनिश्चिति या पाठ परिवर्तन के बारे में कुछ ठोस निर्णय लिये जा सकते हैं। इस संदर्भ में हॉल की चेतावनी ध्यातव्य है—

All that a proper recension of a text can effect is to report the evidence of the documents in which the text has been preserved and to decide which documents owing to their age and character are the most trustrworthy. But though in most cases this process brings us appreciably nearer to the autograph, to the text as originally written by the author, yet it always leaves certain passages, greater in number or less, according to the character and history of the text in question, which no longer present the words, which the author originally wrote.

कुलमूल प्रतियों में पाठों का निर्धारण करते समय परंपरा का महत्त्व रहता ही है। पाठांतरो, दोषों-त्रुटियों और पाठों की समानताओं के आधार पर पांडुलिपियों का वर्गीकरण किया जा सकता है। उपलब्ध प्रतियों के जो परस्पर संबंध हैं, उन्हें वादातीत रीति से सिद्ध करना चाहिए। उनमें प्रतियों के विविध कारणों से बने हुए संकटों को भी ध्यान में लेना चाहिए।



अन्त में पाठचिकित्सा तथा ग्रंथसंपादन के कार्य में एक और विशेषता को बताना आवश्यक है। हर एक पांडुलिपि के अन्त में कुछ विशेष जानकारी कुछ पंक्तियों में दी जाती है, जिनसे मूल रचयिता, भाषा, लेखनस्थल, लेखनकाल, प्रतिलिपि करने वाले की गुरुपरंपरा आदि जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। यह बात नहीं है कि हर एक पांडुलिपि में सभी जानकारी हो। इन अंतिम पंक्तियों को 'पुष्पिका' कहा जाता है। एक विस्तृत पुष्पिका का उदाहरण हमें प्राकृत काव्य '**लीलावई कहा**' की पुष्पिका में मिलता है। ध्यान रहे मूल ग्रंथ की भाषा प्राकृत होने पर भी उसकी पुष्पिका की भाषा प्रायः संस्कृत ही होती है।

''ग्रंथाग्रं श्लोक १८०० ॥ छ॥ संवत् १२६५ वर्षे पौषसुदि द्वादश्यां शनौ लीलावती नाम कथा समाप्तेयं ॥ छ॥ छ ॥ भद्रमस्तु ॥ छ ॥

छकार प्रायः ग्रंथ की समाप्ति सूचित करता है। रघुवंश की टीका की समाप्ति पर मल्लिनाथ इस तरह पुष्पिका लिखते हैं—

इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारपारीणमहामहोपाध्याय कोलचलमल्लिनाथमच्छपाच्छसूरिविरचितायां रघुवंशव्याख्यायां सञ्जीवनीसमाख्यायामेकोनविंशः सर्गः।

इस तरह पाठचिकित्सा का अध्ययन एक व्यापक शास्त्र बन गया.है। भारत में प्राचीन टीकाकारों से लेकर सुकथनकर तक और बाद में भी इस विषय पर ऊहापोह चल रहा है। इस विषय पर यदि प्राचीन और अर्वाचीन तथ्यों तथा साक्ष्यों का मेल किया जाय, तो शास्त्र की स्वस्थ अभिवृद्धि के लिए वह प्रयत्न श्लाघनीय सिद्ध होगा।

वैशेषिक मनोदर्शन में स्वप्न-सिद्धान्त

डॉ० (श्रीमती) शशिप्रभा कुमार

दिल्ली

While presenting a brief but comprehensive study of dream as propounded by the ancient teachers of Vaisēṣika philosophy, the author has high lighted their contribution analysing this most mystic activity and experience of mind.

वैशेषिक दर्शन भारतीय आस्तिक षड्दर्शनों में अन्यतम है। दार्शनिक पारिभाषिक संज्ञा के रूप में 'दर्शन' शब्द सर्वप्रथम महर्षि कणाद के वैशेषिक सूत्रों में ही पाया जाता है[१] और मन तथा मानस अनुभव 'स्वप्न' का पूर्णतः स्पष्ट, सुव्यवस्थित और शास्त्रीय विवेचन भी सर्वप्रथम वैशेषिक दर्शन में ही हुआ है। प्रस्तुत शोधपत्र में वैशेषिक मनोदर्शन का, विशेषतः स्वप्न-सिद्धान्त की दृष्टि से, अध्ययन-विश्लेषण अभीष्ट है।

वैशेषिक सूत्रकार महर्षि कणाद का कथन है कि चैतन्य या ज्ञान (बुद्धि) आत्मा का गुण है; मन एक नित्य द्रव्य है जो अणुपरिमाण व अचेतन है, प्रतिशरीर में एक-एक मन है, मन का प्रत्यक्ष इन्द्रियों से नहीं होता जबकि आत्मा का प्रत्यक्ष मन के संयोग से होता है।[२] इस 'मन' द्रव्य की सिद्धि में स्मृति एक महत्त्वपूर्ण साधन है— स्मृतिज्ञान आत्मा और मन के संयोगविशेष एवं पूर्वानुभव-जन्य संस्कारों से होता है तथा जैसे आत्मा और मन के संयोगविशेष तथा पूर्वानुभवजन्य संस्कारों से स्मृति उत्पन्न होती है, वैसे ही स्वप्नज्ञान भी उत्पन्न होता है।[३] अतः स्मृति एवं स्वप्न दोनों ही मन के

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१. आर्षं सिद्धदर्शनं च धर्मेभ्यः।—वै० सू० ९/२/१३.

२. वही ३/२/१-३.

३. आत्ममनसोः संयोगविशेषात् संस्काराच्च स्मृतिः। तथा स्वप्नः। वै. सू. ९/२/६-७ तथा उन पर शङ्करमिश्र कृत उपस्कार।

साधक हैं किंवा मानस ज्ञान हैं।

शरीर, इन्द्रिय और मन-तीनों के अचेतन होने से ज्ञान का आश्रय आत्मा है। इस ज्ञान या बुद्धि नामक गुण के वैशेषिक दर्शन में प्रमुखतः दो भेद किये गये हैं जिन्हें पुनः चार-चार भागों में बाँटा गया है—

(क) विद्या—प्रत्यक्ष, लैङ्गिक, स्मृति, आर्ष

(ख) अविद्या—संशय, विपर्यय, अनध्यवसाय, स्वप्न[४]

इस आधार पर स्पष्ट संकेत मिलता है कि प्राचीन वैशेषिक आचार्यों के मत में स्वप्नज्ञान अविद्या है; यद्यपि यह सर्वथा असत् विषयों का ज्ञान है तथापि वह ज्ञान इतना सत्य सा लगता है कि उसे **'प्रत्यक्षाकारम्'** भी कहा गया है।[५]

'स्वप्न'-स्वरूप—परवर्ती वैशेषिक आचार्यों में इस विषय में मतभेद पाया जाता है कि स्वप्नज्ञान प्रत्यक्ष है, स्मृति है अथवा स्मृतिविभ्रम। भाष्यकार प्रशस्तपाद के टीकाकारों में से एक टीकाकार ने स्वप्न को अविद्या के अन्तर्गत वर्गीकृत किए जाने पर पूर्वपक्ष की ओर से यह शंका उठाई है कि स्वप्नज्ञान विपर्ययादि से भिन्न नहीं है, अपितु तदभावयुक्त आश्रय में तत्प्रकारक होने से विपर्यय ही है; स्वप्न में क्या यह स्थाणु है अथवा पुरुष—इस प्रकार दोनों कोटियों का उल्लेख होने से संशय है; स्वप्न में यह किस नाम का है—इस ज्ञान के उत्पन्न होने के कारण अनध्यवसाय भी है। इस प्रकार, स्वप्नज्ञान संशय, विपर्यय और अनध्यवसाय से भिन्न नहीं है, उसका पृथक् अभिधान तो केवल शुभाशुभसूचक होने के कारण किया गया है।[६]

इस पूर्वपक्षीय शंका का समाधान करते हुए व्योमवतीकार ने प्रतिपादित किया है कि स्वप्न स्मृति से तो सर्वथा पृथक् है ही, कारणादि के भेद से यह संशय, विपर्यय एवं अनध्यवसाय से भी भिन्न सिद्ध होता है। अतः स्वप्न स्मृति, संशय, विपर्यय एवं अनध्यवसाय आदि से सर्वथा विचित्र, विलक्षण अनुभव है जो स्मृति से जन्य अवश्य है क्योंकि संस्कार पूर्वानुभवजन्य होता है और वही स्मृति की उत्पत्ति के माध्यम से

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४. बुद्धिरुपलब्धिर्ज्ञानं प्रत्यय इति पर्यायाः। सा चानेक प्रकारा, अर्थानन्त्यात् प्रत्यर्थनियतत्वाच्च। तस्याः सत्यप्यनेकविधत्वे समासतो द्वे विधे विद्या चाविद्या चेति। तत्राविद्या चतुर्विधा—संशयविपर्ययानध्यवसाय स्वप्नलक्षणा।—**प्र. पा. भा.** पृ. १३० (चौखम्बा संस्करण)

५. **वही,** पृ० १४०.

६. **व्योम.,** पृ० ५५.

स्वप्नज्ञान की उत्पत्ति का भी हेतु बनता है।[७] इसीलिए सभी स्वप्न मिथ्या नहीं कहे जा सकते क्योंकि कभी-कभी स्वप्न में पूर्वजन्म के उद्बुद्ध संस्कारों से कुछ अद्भुत अनुभूतियाँ भी होती हैं।

इसके विपरीत, **प्रशस्तपादभाष्य** के ही एक अन्य टीकाकार श्रीधराचार्य का विचार है कि स्वप्न भी प्रकारान्तर से भ्रम या विपर्यय ही है किन्तु यह सोते हुए होता है, अतः एक विशेष अवस्था वाला होने से इसे पृथक् कहा गया है।[८] **न्यायलीलावती**कार ने भी स्वप्न को मिथ्याज्ञानधारा कहा है यद्यपि साथ ही यह भी स्पष्ट किया है कि स्वप्नानुभव के समय उसके मिथ्यात्व का भान कदापि नहीं होता।[९] **समानतंत्र** न्यायदर्शन में स्वप्न के विषय में विस्तृत विवेचन न होने पर भी उपलब्ध यत्किञ्चित् विवरण से संकेतित होता है कि वहाँ भी स्वप्नज्ञान का भ्रमरूपत्व ही माना गया है,[१०] न कि स्मृतिरूपत्व, यद्यपि उसे पूर्वानुभव-संस्कारजन्य भी कहा गया है। अपि च, नव्यनैयायिकों में से भासर्वज्ञ का भी यही मत प्रतीत होता है।[११]

इस भाँति, प्राचीन वैशेषिक आचार्यों के मतों का अनुशीलन करने पर व्यक्त होता है कि वैशेषिक परम्परा में स्वप्नज्ञान को मानस विपर्यय या अविद्या रूप ही माना गया है, स्मृतिरूप नहीं।[१२] किन्तु कुछ परवर्ती नैयायिकों ने स्वप्न को स्मृतिविभ्रमरूप माना है।[१३] **न्यायमंजरी**कार जयन्तभट्ट ने प्रतिपादित किया है कि प्राभाकर मीमांसक के मत में भी स्वप्नज्ञान स्मरणरूप ही है।[१४] **तर्कदीपिका**कार अन्नम्भट्ट ने यद्यपि अयथार्थ अनुभव या अविद्या का त्रिविध विभाजन ही किया है, उसमें शब्दशः स्वप्न को नहीं गिना किन्तु साथ ही यह स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि स्वप्न तो मानस विपर्यय में ही अन्तर्भूत हो जाता है, अतः त्रैविध्य का विरोध नहीं है।[१५] **प्रकाशिका**कार

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७. वही

८. यद्यपि ...... समारोपितबाह्यस्वरूपः स्वप्नप्रत्ययो भवन्नतस्मिंस्तदिति भावाद् विपर्ययः, तथाप्यवस्थाविशेषभावित्वात् पृथगुक्तः **न्या. क. पृ०. ४६७-४६९.**

९. **न्या. ली. पृ० ४५८.**

१०. **न्या. सू.** ४.२.३३-३५ तथा उन पर न्यायभाष्य.

११. **न्या. भू.** पृ० ३२-३३.

१२. दिनेशचन्द्र शास्त्री, **प्राचीनभारतीय मनोविद्या,** पृ० २९८.

१३. स्वप्ने तु सर्वमेव ज्ञानं स्मरणमयथार्थं च। दोषवशेन तदिति स्थाने इदमुदयात्। **तर्कभाषा,** पृ० १९८.

१४. **न्या. मं.,** भाग एक, पृ० १६५ (चौखम्बा संस्करण).

१५. **त. दी.** पृ० २९२-९३ (मद्रास संस्करण).

का भी स्पष्ट कथन है कि जो स्वप्न को स्मृतिरूप कहा जाता है, वह तो भाष्यादिविरुद्ध होने से उपेक्षणीय है।[१६]

वस्तुतः स्वप्न मानस अनुभूति है, इसमें तो कोई सन्देह नहीं किन्तु इस अनुभूति का बाह्य जगत् में कोई वास्तविक आधार नहीं होता, अतः उसे यथार्थ अनुभव नहीं अपितु अविद्या या अयथार्थ अनुभव कहना समीचीन ही है। इसीलिए जाग्रदवस्था के विपर्यय से स्वप्नरूप विपर्यय का अन्तर स्पष्ट करते हुए उदयनाचार्य कहते हैं कि जाग्रदवस्था के विपर्यय में बाह्य इन्द्रियाँ सक्रिय होती हैं जबकि स्वप्न में बाह्येन्द्रियाँ सर्वथा निष्क्रिय होती हैं, तथापि दोनों ही विपर्ययरूप होने से अप्रमा या अविद्या हैं।[१७]

स्वप्न-प्रक्रिया—का वर्णन करते हुए प्रशस्तपाद ने कहा है कि—मन के प्रलीन हो जाने पर इन्द्रियसमूह अपने कार्य से रुक जाता है, अतः आत्मा 'उपरतेन्द्रियग्राम' कहलाता है। उस अवस्था में मन के लीन हो जाने पर तथा इन्द्रियसमूह के विश्रान्त हो जाने पर, प्राण-अपान आदि शरीरस्थ वायु की गति से, आत्मा और मन के विशेष संयोग से स्वाप नामक संस्कार और उस संस्कार से स्वप्नज्ञान उत्पन्न होता है। यह ज्ञान मन से होता है किन्तु ऐसा प्रतीत होता है जैसे व्यक्ति चक्षु आदि इन्द्रिय से प्रत्यक्ष देख रहा हो। यह ज्ञान क्यों व कैसे होता है? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर देते हुए भाष्यकार कहते हैं कि दिन में ज्ञानपूर्वक किये अपने शरीर के कार्यों से श्रान्त प्राणियों का रात्रि में विश्राम के लिए अथवा आहार के पाचन के लिए, अदृष्टकृत प्रयत्न की अपेक्षा से होने वाले मन और आत्मा के संयोग से मन में सतत क्रिया होने के कारण जब मन हृदयदेश के भीतर इन्द्रिय सम्बन्धरहित आत्मप्रदेश में क्रियाशून्य होकर स्थित होता है, तब उस स्थिति में स्वप्नज्ञान उत्पन्न होता है।[१८]

जैसा कि स्पष्ट ही है, स्वप्न में बाह्य इन्द्रियाँ सर्वथा निष्क्रिय हो जाती हैं, अतः यह ज्ञान केवल मानस माना गया है, इसीलिए मनोदर्शन का प्रमुख अङ्ग है। यद्यपि स्वप्न को सर्वथा निरिन्द्रिय ज्ञान कहने में अनेक विसंगतियाँ उत्पन्न हो सकती हैं क्योंकि अनेकशः बाह्येन्द्रियों के सम्पर्क से भी स्वप्न उद्बुद्ध होते हैं।[१९] सम्भवतः इस दृष्टि से उदयनाचार्य का मत अधिक संगत सिद्ध होगा, क्योंकि उनके अनुसार स्वप्न में

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१६. **वही.** पृ० २९३.

१७. अयथार्थत्वेऽप्युरतेन्द्रियग्रामस्वभावाद्-विपर्ययाद्-व्यवच्छेदः नियतकोटिकत्वात् संशया-नध्यवसायाभ्यामनुभवानाम् इति स्मृतेः।—**किरणा.** पृ० २७१.

१८. **प्र. पा. भा.** पृ. १३९-४०.

१९. Medard Boss, *Analysis of Dreams*, p. 18.

अन्य इन्द्रियाँ तो उपरत हो जाती हैं किन्तु त्वचा या स्पर्शेन्द्रिय उस समय भी सर्वथा असंपृक्त नहीं होती।[२०]

स्वप्नज्ञान के कारणों की चर्चा करते हुए वैशेषिक दर्शन में कहा गया है कि इसमें मन समवायिकारण है, आत्मा और मन का संयोग असमवायिकारण है तथा अदृष्ट से कारित प्रयत्न ही निमित्तकारण है—इस कारण समूह से विशिष्ट आत्म प्रदेश में मन की क्रिया से स्वाप नामक संस्कार उत्पन्न होता है और स्मृति की उत्पत्ति के द्वारा वह संस्कार ही स्वप्नज्ञान की उत्पत्ति का हेतु है।[२१] इसलिए स्वप्नज्ञान सर्वथा निर्विषय, मानस ज्ञान है, यही इसकी विलक्षणता है। यद्यपि यह सत्य है कि स्वप्न में पूर्वदृष्ट विषयों का ही अन्यत्र भान होता है, न कि सर्वथा 'असत्' विषयों का, तथापि वह ज्ञान इन्द्रियग्राम के उपरत हो जाने पर होता है, अतः मानस तो है ही।[२२] कणाद के 'तथा स्वप्नः' सूत्र की व्याख्या करते हुए भाष्यकार जयनारायण तर्कालङ्कार ने इसी तथ्य को विशद करते हुए प्रतिपादित किया है कि जैसे स्मृति में आत्मा और मन का संयोगविशेष तथा संस्कार कारण होते हैं, वैसे ही स्वप्नसंज्ञक मानसज्ञान में भी आत्मा और मन के संयोगविशेष से तथा पूर्वानुभवजनित संस्कार से विशेष प्रकार का अनुभव होता है। स्वप्न के जनक संयोग का वैशिष्ट्य मेध्या नामक नाड़ी और मन के संयोग का दोषाविष्ट होना है। इसीलिए वह ज्ञान मिथ्या होता है और यह मानस ज्ञान 'ज्ञानलक्षणा' नामक अलौकिक सन्निकर्ष से होता है।[२३]

उल्लेखनीय है कि वैशेषिक स्वप्न-सिद्धान्त का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण अङ्ग यह है कि स्वप्नज्ञान अन्तः करण जन्य मानस ज्ञान है जो मन के पुरीतत् नामक नाड़ी में प्रवेश कर जाने पर होता है।[२४] शङ्करमिश्र ने इसे ही 'स्वप्नवह' नाड़ी कहा है तथा बताया है कि निद्रा में जब मन इस 'स्वप्नवह' नाड़ी के भीतर चला जाता है, तब बाह्येन्द्रियों के ज्ञान के बिना जो मानस ज्ञान होता है, वही स्वप्न है।[२५] **सप्तपदार्थी**कार ने निद्रा से दुष्ट

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२०. **न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि**, ३, पृ० ९.

२१. **व्योम०**, पृ० १३४.

२२. **न्या. मं.**, भाग २, पृ. 69 एवं. पृ. १११.

२३. **वै. सू.** ९/२/७ पर तर्कालङ्कार भाष्य.

२४. P.S. Ramanujan, *Vyomasiva's Vaisesika*, p. 152-53.

२५. अथ स्वप्नः। स च सिद्धोपयुक्तान्तः करणजन्यं ज्ञानं सिद्धा च निद्रा यथा स्वप्नवहनाडीमध्यवर्त्ति मनस्तदा बहिरिन्द्रियसम्बन्धविरहात् स्वप्नज्ञानानि जायन्ते। —**कणादरहस्य**, पृ० १२०.

अन्त:करणजन्य ज्ञान को स्वप्न कहा है तथा योगजधर्म से अननुगृहीत मन का निरिन्द्रिय प्रदेश में अवस्थान निद्रा बताया है।[२६] उनके टीकाकार ने स्पष्ट किया है कि निरिन्द्रिय प्रदेश का अभिप्राय मेध्या, हिता या स्वप्नवह नाड़ी से है।[२७] आयुर्वेद में भी यही कहा गया है कि स्वप्न इन मनोवह नाड़ियों के वातपित्तश्लेष्मदोषजन्य होते हैं, यद्यपि स्वप्नज्ञान को वहाँ भी मानसज्ञान ही बताया गया है।[२८] अत: स्वप्न एक मानस ज्ञान है जो मन के निरिन्द्रिय प्रदेश या पुरीतत् नाड़ी में प्रवेश करने पर उत्पन्न होता है, यह वैशेषिक दर्शन की विशिष्ट मान्यता है।

वैशेषिक दर्शन की इस कल्पना का मूल आधार **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्** का वह स्थल है जहाँ कहा गया है कि सुषुप्ति के समय आत्मा नाड़ियों में होकर पुरीतत् की ओर जाती है एवं वहीं अपना स्थान ग्रहण करती है।[२९] प्रशस्तपाद एवं उनके अनुवर्ती वैशेषिक दार्शनिक उपनिषदों की इस कल्पना को विकसित एवं संशोधित करते हुए प्रतिपादित करते हैं कि (आत्मा के स्थान पर) मन नाड़ियों में पुरीतत् की ओर जाता है तथा उसके पुरीतत् में निवास ग्रहण करने पर सुषुप्ति होती है।[३०] इस संशोधन का कारण संभवत: यही जान पड़ता है कि सुषुप्ति को सरलता से मन की वृत्ति तो कहा जा सकता है किन्तु उसे आत्मा की वृत्ति नहीं कह सकते क्योंकि उसे तो सदा जाग्रत समझना चाहिए। अत: यह कथन समीचीन है कि उपनिषदों में प्रतिपादित पुरीतत्वाद को वैशेषिक दार्शनिकों ने न केवल ज्यों का त्यों ग्रहण किया है, अपितु एक परिवर्तन

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२६. निद्रादुष्टान्त:करणजं ज्ञानं स्वप्न:। योगजधर्माननुगृहीतस्य मनसो निरिन्द्रियप्रदेशावस्थानं निद्रा। **सप्तपदार्थी,** पृ० ८२ (कलकत्ता संस्करण) .

२७. निरिन्द्रियप्रदेश: स्वप्नवहा नाडीत्याहु:।—उक्त पर 'प्रकाशिका', **वही**

२८. मनोवहानां पूर्णत्वाद्दोषैरतिबलैस्त्रिभि:।
स्रोतसां दारुणान् स्वप्नान् काले पश्यति दारुणे॥
नातिप्रसुप्त: पुरुष: सफलानफलानपि।
इन्द्रियवशेन मनसा स्वप्नान् पश्यत्यनेकधा॥—**चरकसंहिता** ५/५/४०.

२९. अथ यदा सुषुप्तो भवति यदा न कस्यचन वेद हिता नाम नाड्यो द्वासप्तति: सहस्त्राणि हृदयात्पुरीततमभि प्रतिष्ठन्ते ताभि: प्रत्यवसृत्य पुरीतति शेते स यथा कुमारो वा महाराजो वा महाब्राह्मणो वातिघ्नीमानन्दस्य गत्वा शयीते एवमेवैष एतच्छेते। —**बृहदा. २/१/१९**

३०. (क) यदा त्वचमपि परिहृत्य मन: पुरीतति वर्त्तते तदा. सुषुप्तिरिति।
(ख) सुषुप्तिकाले त्वचं त्यक्त्वा पुरीतति वर्तमानेन मनसा ज्ञानाजननमिति।
—**कणादरहस्य,** पृ० १२० तथा **न्या. सि. मु.,** पृ० २९४.

द्वारा उसे श्रेष्ठतर बना दिया है।[३१]

इस विवेचन से यह भी व्यक्त होता है कि वैशेषिक दर्शन में सुषुप्ति एवं स्वप्न आत्मा की दशायें नहीं, ज्ञान के भेद माने गये हैं, अतः यहाँ सुषुप्ति का अर्थ वेदान्तसम्मत आत्मदशा नहीं लेना चाहिए। तदनुसार सुषुप्ति का अर्थ सामान्यतः 'निद्रा' ही है और निद्रा तो ज्ञान का सर्वथा अभाव है[३२] क्योंकि उसमें इन्द्रियाँ एवं मन सर्वथा निष्क्रिय हो जाते हैं जबकि 'स्वप्न' ज्ञान का एक भेद है क्योंकि उसमें मन सक्रिय रहता है। वैसे भी वैशेषिक दर्शन में जाग्रदवस्था के अनुभवों पर ही बल दिया गया है एवं यह माना गया है कि हमारे मानस अनुभव से परे भी यह विश्व एक बाह्य वास्तविकता है।[३३] यहाँ सुषुप्ति का विशेष निरूपण नहीं किया गया क्योंकि उसमें तो ज्ञानसामान्य का भी अभाव हो जाने से वह दशा पुरुषार्थ के लिए अनुपयोगी मानी गई है, अतः स्वप्न-सिद्धान्त के सन्दर्भ में ही सुषुप्ति के विषय में यत्किञ्चित् संकेत उपलब्ध होते हैं। उन संकेतों के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि स्वप्न तो एक मानस अनुभव है जिसमें त्वचा को छोड़कर अन्य सभी इन्द्रियाँ उपरत हो जाती हैं किन्तु सुषुप्ति या निद्रा में तो ज्ञान का सर्वथा अभाव हो जाता है क्योंकि वहाँ मन का त्वगिन्द्रिय से भी विच्छेद हो जाता है जो कि ज्ञानसामान्य के प्रति कारण माना गया है।[३४]

इस प्रकार वैशेषिक दर्शन के अनुसार स्वप्न अविद्या का एक भेद माना गया है जो संशय, विपर्यय एवं अनध्यवसाय—इन तीनों प्रकारों से भिन्न है; सत्य न होने पर भी सत्य सा लगता है तथा निद्राकाल में निरिन्द्रिय मन के द्वारा निर्विषय रूप से अनुभव किया जाता है। अतः यह कथन सत्य ही है कि स्वप्नानुभूति में एक प्रकार से दुहरा जीवन जिया जाता है जिसमें अनुभव करने वाले व्यक्ति का स्वयं अपनी ही चेष्टाओं पर कोई अधिकार नहीं होता।[३५]

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३१. रामचन्द्र रानाडे, **उपनिषद्-दर्शन का रचनात्मक सर्वेक्षण,** पृ० १२९.

३२. J. N. Sinha, *Indian Psychology,* Vol. II, p. 32-33.

३३. Raghunath Sahaya, *Indian Psychology,* p. 167.

३४. (क) तत्रापि त्वगिन्द्रियस्यापि सम्बन्धविरहे सुषुप्तिः। **कणादरहस्य पृ० १२०.**

(ख) त्वचो योगो मनसा ज्ञानकारणम्।..... त्वङ्मनःसंयोगो ज्ञानसामान्ये कारणमित्यर्थः।
—**भाषापरिच्छेद,** कारिका ५७, पृ० २९४.

३५. William, Oliver Stevens, *The Mystery of Dreams,* p. 1.

स्वप्न के भेद

भारतीय मनोदर्शन में स्वप्नों के शुभ और अशुभ फलों की दृष्टि से सफल और अफल अथवा सुस्वप्न और दुःस्वप्न[३६] आदि भेद बताये गये हैं किन्तु प्रशस्तपाद ने कारणों के भेद से जन्य स्वप्न के तीन भेदों का निर्देश किया है जो निम्नलिखित हैं—

संस्कारपाटवजन्य

धातुदोषजन्य

अदृष्टजन्य

इन त्रिविध स्वप्नों का निरूपण करते हुए उन्होंने प्रतिपादित किया है कि कामयुक्त या क्रोधयुक्त व्यक्ति जब जिस पदार्थ के विषय में प्रयत्नपूर्वक सोचता हुआ सो जाता है तब वही चिन्ता की धारा प्रत्यक्ष के आकार वाली हो जाती है[३७] यह संस्कार-पाटवजन्य स्वप्न का उदाहरण है। इस प्रकार के स्वप्न पूर्वानुभवजन्य संस्कारों से उत्पन्न होते हैं, ये संस्कार पूर्वजन्मों के भी हो सकते हैं जिनमें पिछले जन्म की स्मृति सम्पूर्णतः नहीं होती, केवल कुछ संस्कार अनुभविता के मन पर उभर कर आ जाते हैं।[३८]

धातुदोषजन्य स्वप्न का वर्णन करते हुए प्रशस्तपाद कहते हैं कि वायुप्रकृति वाला अथवा जिसका वायु दूषित हो जाता है, वह स्वप्न में अपना आकाशादिगमन देखता है। पित्त प्रकृति वाला अथवा जिसका पित्त विकृत हो जाता है, वह अग्नि में प्रवेश तथा सुवर्ण के पर्वत आदि को देखता है।[३९] कफप्रकृति वाला अथवा जिसका कफ दूषित हो जाता है, वह नदी और समुद्र में तैरना तथा बर्फीले पर्वत आदि को देखता है।

अदृष्टजन्य स्वप्न में स्वयम् अनुभव किये गये अथवा न अनुभव किये गये प्रसिद्ध अथवा अप्रसिद्ध पदार्थों में शुभसूचक हाथी की सवारी, छत्र की प्राप्ति आदि हैं एवं उन्हीं विषयों के जितने स्वप्नज्ञान अशुभ के सूचक हैं, वे सभी अधर्मरूप अदृष्ट और संस्कार से उत्पन्न होते हैं जैसे कि खरारोहण, उष्ट्रारोहण, तेल की मालिश आदि के स्वप्नज्ञान। अदृष्टजन्य स्वप्नों के विवेचन में आगे कहा गया है कि जो स्वयं के लिए भी अज्ञात और दूसरों के लिए भी अज्ञात हैं, ऐसे सर्वथा अप्रसिद्ध विषयों के दर्शनरूप

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३६. श्रीरामनारायण त्रिपाठिशास्त्री, **स्वप्नविमर्शः**, पृ० ४४–४७.

३७. **प्र. पा. भा.** पृ० १५१.

३८. K. C. Varadacari, *Theory of Knowledge*, p. 202.

३९. धातुदोषाद्वातप्रकृतिस्तद्दूषितो वा आकाशगमनादीन् पश्यति। पित्तदूषितो वाऽग्निप्रवेश-कनकपर्वतादीन् पश्यति।—**प्र. पा. भा.** पृ. १५१.

स्वप्नज्ञान केवल अदृष्ट से होते हैं।[४०] इसी को स्पष्ट करते हुए **कन्दली**कार ने लिखा है कि अत्यन्त अप्रसिद्ध चन्द्रसूर्यादि के भोजन का स्वप्नात्मक ज्ञान केवल अदृष्ट से ही होता है क्योंकि बिना अनुभव किए किसी वस्तु का संस्कार नहीं होता है।[४१] यद्यपि सभी स्वप्नों में संस्कार, धातुदोष और अदृष्ट—ये तीनों कारण होते हैं, तथापि एक कारण की विशिष्टता से ये तीनों प्रकार कहे गये हैं।[४२]

अत: **प्रशस्तपादभाष्य** में निरूपित स्वप्नविवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि संस्कार-पाटवजन्य स्वप्नों के मानसिक कारण बताये गये हैं, धातुदोषजन्य स्वप्न शारीरिक कारणों के फलस्वरूप होते हैं तथा अत्यन्त अप्रसिद्ध विषयों वाले स्वप्न अदृष्ट से जन्य होते हैं। चरकायुर्वेद में वर्णित स्वप्न-विभाजन के अन्तर्गत जिन सप्तविध स्वप्नों का विश्लेषण है[४३] तथा **महाभारत** के शान्तिपर्व में स्वप्न का जो प्रतिपादन है[४४]—उसका स्पष्ट प्रभाव उक्त प्रशस्तपादोक्त स्वप्न-सिद्धान्त पर देखा जा सकता है। आयुर्वेद में प्रतिपादित सप्तविध स्वप्नों में से आरम्भिक पाँच संस्कारपाटवजन्य स्वप्न के प्रथम वर्ग में अन्तर्भूत हो सकते हैं, भाविक स्वप्न अदृष्टजन्य स्वप्नों में तथा दोषज धातुदोषजन्य स्वप्नों में रखे जा सकते हैं।

वैशेषिक स्वप्न-सिद्धान्त के उक्त अध्ययन से यह संकेत भी प्राप्त होता है कि पाश्चात्य मनोविश्लेषक फ्रायड ने जलसन्तरण, आकाशगमन आदिविषयक जिन स्वप्नों को काम-वासनोद्भव कहा है[४५], वे वस्तुत: वात, पित्त और श्लेष्मादिविकारों से जन्य होते हैं तथा युंग महोदय जिन स्वप्नों को आदेशात्मक स्वप्न कहते हैं, वे अदृष्टजन्य स्वप्न ही होते हैं।[४६] अनेक बार स्वप्न सफल एवं सत्य भी होते देखे जाते हैं।[४७] ऐसे

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४०. **वही**, पृ० १५१-५२.

४१. **न्या. क.**, पृ० ४०१.

४२. **किरणा.**, पृ० २७०.

४३. **दृष्टं श्रुतानुभूतं च प्रार्थितं कल्पितं तथा।**
भाविकं दोषजं चैव स्वप्नं सप्तविधं विदुः॥ **—चरकसंहिता, ६/४२**

४४. **म. भा.**, शान्तिपर्व, २१६/४-१२.

४५. Sigmund Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, pp. 213-227.

४६. Frieda Fordham, *An Introduction To Jung's Psychology* pp. 103-4.

४७. अवितथफला हि प्रायो निशावसानसमयदृष्टा भवन्ति स्वप्नाः।
—बाणभट्ट, कादम्बरी, पृ० २०३-२०४.
(चौखम्बा संस्करण)

शुभ फल देने वाले स्वप्नों को भारतीय मनोदर्शन में 'सुस्वप्न' कहा गया है।[४८] राजा हरिश्चन्द्र ने यह आदेश स्वप्न में ही पाया था कि अपना राज्य विश्वामित्र को देना है।[४९]

वस्तुतः आधुनिक मनोविश्लेषकों ने तो स्वप्न के द्विविध कारणों का ही प्रतिपादन किया है—शारीरिक और मानसिक। वैशेषिक मनोदर्शन में संस्कारपाटवजन्य एवं धातुदोषजन्य स्वप्नों के अन्तर्गत इन दोनों का तो समावेश हुआ ही है, तीसरे प्रकार के अदृष्टजन्य स्वप्नों के निर्देश द्वारा स्वप्न की विलक्षण अनिर्वचनीयता भी सूचित की गई है। उल्लेखनीय है कि वैशेषिक के समानतन्त्र न्यायदर्शन के वात्स्यायनभाष्य में तीन प्रकार के स्वप्नों[५०] का निर्देश हुआ है, किन्तु उनका विस्तृत विवेचन वैशेषिक दर्शन में ही हुआ है।

स्वप्नान्तिक

वैशेषिक स्वप्न-सिद्धान्त में उक्त स्वप्न-लक्षण, प्रक्रिया एवं भेदों की चर्चा के साथ-साथ 'स्वप्नान्तिक' का भी वर्णन मिलता है,[५१] यद्यपि यह निश्चित रूप से नहीं कहा जा सकता कि स्वप्नान्तिक से वैशेषिक आचार्यों का क्या अभिप्राय है। इसे विशद करते हुए प्रशस्तपाद कहते हैं कि यद्यपि स्वप्नान्तिक भी उपरतेन्द्रियग्राम व्यक्ति को ही होता है किन्तु इसमें बीते हुए ज्ञानप्रबन्ध का ही प्रत्यवेक्षण होने से यह स्मृति है[५२] (विपर्यय नहीं)। इस परिभाषा को और भी परिष्कृत करते हुए श्रीधराचार्य की टिप्पणी है कि कभी-कभी स्वप्न में देखे गये विषयों का स्वप्नावस्था में ही प्रतिसन्धान होता है कि 'मैंने यह देखा'—ऐसा पूर्वानुभूत स्वप्न के अन्त या अवसान में होता है, अतः इसे स्वप्नान्तिक कहते हैं।[५३] एक अन्य विद्वान् का विचार है कि स्वप्न के अन्तर्गत जो स्वप्न होता है, वह स्वप्नान्तिक है।[५४] प्रायः अन्य सभी व्याख्याकार प्रशस्तपाद के ही

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४८. **छान्दोग्य उपनिषद्**, ५/२/७-८.

४९. आचार्य विश्वेश्वर, **मनोविज्ञान-मीमांसा**, पृ० ३११.

५०. कश्चित्स्वप्नो भयोपसंहितः, कश्चित्प्रमोदोपसंहितः कश्चिदुभयविपरीतः।
—**न्या. भा.** (**न्या. सू.** ४/२/३३ पर) पृ० 576 (चौखम्बा संस्करण)

५१. स्वप्नान्तिकम्। —**वै. सू.** ९/२/८.

५२. स्वप्नान्तिकं यद्यप्युपरतेन्द्रियग्रामस्य भवति, तथाप्यतीतस्यज्ञान-प्रबन्धस्य प्रत्यवेक्षणात् स्मृतिरेवेति। —**प्र. पा. भा.** पृ० १५२.

५३. **न्या. क.** पृ० ४४१-४२.

५४. उदयवीर शास्त्री, **विद्योदयभाष्य**, पृ० ३०५.

समान स्वप्नान्तिक को स्मृति मानने के पक्ष में हैं[५५] केवल एक चन्द्रकान्त भट्टाचार्य इसे सुषुप्ति मानते हैं।[५६] किन्तु सुषुप्ति दशा में कोई ज्ञान होता है और वह स्मृतिरूप है, ऐसा विचार साधारणतः दार्शनिक-चिन्तन में स्वीकार्य प्रतीत नहीं होता। इस स्थल पर शङ्करमिश्र ने एक सर्वथा भिन्न मत भी उद्धृत किया है जिसके अनुसार स्वप्न के मध्य में जो प्रभाभूत ज्ञान है, वही स्वप्नान्तिक है[५७] किन्तु यह मत अत्यन्त असंगत प्रतीत होता है क्योंकि सूत्रकार कणाद और भाष्यकार प्रशस्तपाद ने स्पष्टतः इसे स्वप्नज्ञान की दशाविशेष कहा है और उसे अविद्या के अन्तर्गत रखा है, फिर उसे 'प्रमा' या यथार्थज्ञान कैसे माना जा सकता है?

अतः उक्त विवेचन के आधार पर यही मान्यता संगत प्रतीत होती है कि 'स्वप्नान्ते भवं स्वप्नान्तिकम्' अथवा 'स्वप्नस्यान्तिकं स्वप्नान्तिकम्' अर्थात् जो पहले देखे गये स्वप्न के अन्त, समीप या मध्य में होता है, वही स्वप्नान्तिक है। यहाँ यह शंका हो सकती है कि यह स्वप्नान्तिक भी यदि इन्द्रिय-व्यापार के उपरत हो जाने पर ही हुआ करता है तो इस पर भी स्वप्न का लक्षण घटित होना चाहिए, इसे पृथक् मानने की क्या आवश्यकता है? संभवतः इसका समाधान करते हुए ही प्रशस्तपाद ने स्पष्ट किया है कि स्वप्नान्तिक में स्वप्न में देखे गये अतीत ज्ञानसन्तान का ही स्मरण किया जाता है, अतः वह तो स्मृति ही है (स्वप्न नहीं) और स्मृति तो विद्या के अन्तर्गत ही आती है, न कि अविद्या के। इसलिए बीते हुए और पहले ही अनुभव किये गये स्वप्नज्ञानप्रबन्ध का ही प्रत्यवेक्षण और अनुसन्धान होने से स्वप्नान्तिक स्मृति है, यही मत सिद्ध होता है। अन्य शब्दों में, प्रशस्तपाद के अनुसार स्वप्नज्ञान मिथ्या या अविद्या है, किन्तु स्वप्नान्तिक स्मृति होने से विद्या ही है। **व्योमवती**कार ने इसे और भी स्पष्ट करते हुए कहा है कि स्वप्न तो इन्द्रिय व्यापार के उपरत होने पर उत्पन्न हुआ 'मानस अनुभवन' है, जबकि स्वप्नान्तिक इन्द्रिय-व्यापार के उपरत होने पर उत्पन्न हुई स्मृति है[५८]— यही इन दोनों में भेद जानना चाहिए।

निष्कर्ष

उक्त संक्षिप्त विवेचन के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि वैशेषिक मनोदर्शन में स्वप्न-सिद्धान्त का अत्यन्त सटीक एवं समग्र विश्लेषण हुआ है। तदनुसार

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५५. **व्योम.** पृ० ५५२, **उपस्कार,** पृ० ५१५.

५६. **वै. सू. विवृति** (९/२/८ पर).

५७. स्वप्नमध्ये प्रमाभूतं यज्ज्ञानं तत्स्वप्नान्तिकमिति केचित्। —**उपस्कार** पृ० ५१६

५८. **व्योम.** पृ० ५४९.

स्वप्न एक मानस अनुभूति है जो प्रत्यक्ष की भाँति यथार्थ, निश्चित एवं असन्दिग्ध तो नहीं है किन्तु उसे सर्वथा भ्रम या मिथ्याज्ञान भी नहीं कहा जा सकता और स्मृति के समान 'संस्कारमात्र जन्य' भी नहीं माना जा सकता। अतः स्वप्न एक अद्भुत, अव्याख्येय अनुभव है जो कभी तो बाह्यजगत् पर केन्द्रित प्रतीत होता है और कभी अन्तर्जगत् पर। इनमें से प्रथम प्रकार के स्वप्नों को भ्रम कहा जा सकता है एवं दूसरे प्रकार के स्वप्नों को विभ्रम कहा जा सकता है।[५९]

वस्तुतः 'स्वप्न' एक अत्यधिक जटिल एवं असमाधेय रहस्य है, किन्तु इसका क्षेत्र अतीव व्यापक है। संसार में ऐसा कोई व्यक्ति नहीं होगा जिसने कभी स्वप्न न देखा हो। वस्तुतः स्वप्न का क्षेत्र तो जागरण से भी विशाल एवं विस्तृत है क्योंकि जागरण में तो हमारे अनुभव इन्द्रिय-सापेक्ष होते हैं जबकि स्वप्न में तो मन का स्वतन्त्र साम्राज्य है, वहाँ दृष्ट-अदृष्ट[६०] सभी प्रकार के विषयों का अनुभव होता है। अतः स्वप्न का विवेचन अधिक दुरूह है।

इस दृष्टि से विश्लेषण करने पर व्यक्त होता है कि वैशेषिक आचार्यों ने मानव-मन की इस अबूझ पहेली 'स्वप्न' का पर्याप्त प्रामाणिक एवं तर्कसंगत सिद्धान्त प्रस्तुत किया है। उनके अनुसार स्वप्न में मिथ्या विषयों का अभिमान होने से वह 'अविद्या' तो है किन्तु निद्रा में अनुभूत होने के कारण वह जाग्रदवस्था के संशय, विपर्ययादि से भिन्न भी है। जाग्रदवस्था में इन्द्रियाँ सक्रिय होती हैं जबकि स्वप्नज्ञान केवल मानस अनुभव है, इसमें इन्द्रियाँ अपने बाह्य विषयों से सर्वथा उपरत रहती हैं। साथ ही, स्वप्न संशय की भाँति उभयात्मक भी नहीं, अपितु निश्चयात्मक ही प्रतीत होता है।[६१] यहाँ यह विशेष ध्यातव्य है कि स्वप्न निद्रा की एक विशेष स्थिति में अनुभव किये जाते हैं जब मन का बाह्य इन्द्रियों से सम्पर्क लगभग नहीं रहता, यद्यपि इस विषय में कुछ वैशेषिक आचार्यों एवं आधुनिक मनोवैज्ञानिकों का विचार भिन्न है।[६२] तथापि इतना अवश्य कहा जा सकता है कि स्वप्न में बाह्य विषय संस्कारों के जनक कारण रूप में तो उपस्थित रहते हैं, किन्तु विषय रूप में नहीं, अतः स्वप्नज्ञान निर्विषय मानस अनुभूति है, जबकि न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शन के अनुसार कोई भी अनुभव 'अविषय'

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५९. J. N. Sinha, *Indian Psychology*, Vol. III, p. 121.

६०. अदृष्टमप्यर्थमदृष्टवैभवात् करोति सुप्तिर्जनदर्शनातिथिम्। —श्रीहर्ष, **नैषधचरितम्, १/३९.**

६१. **किरणा.**, पृ. २७१.

६२. Enil A. Gutheil, *The Handbook of Dream Analysis*, p. 17.

नहीं हो सकता[६३]। संभवतः यही कारण है कि उन्हें प्रत्यक्ष जैसा प्रतीत होने वाले[६४] मानस अनुभव स्वप्न को 'अविद्या' के अन्तर्गत रखना उचित लगा हो।

संक्षेप में वैशेषिक दर्शन के अनुसार स्वप्न एक मानस अनुभव होने से मनोदर्शन का अभिन्न अङ्ग है तथा बुद्धि या ज्ञान गुण के अन्तर्गत अविद्या का एक प्रभेद है जो पूर्वानुभूत संस्कारों से जन्य है किन्तु स्मृति नहीं अपितु मानस भ्रम ही कहा जा सकता है जो निद्रा में होने से 'विपर्यय' से भिन्न है। यद्यपि कुछ नैयायिकों के मत से स्वप्न स्मृतिविभ्रम है, किन्तु यह मत अधिकांश आचार्यों को ग्राह्य नहीं है। स्वप्न-विवेचन के सन्दर्भ में यह भी कहा गया है कि जब मन निरिन्द्रिय प्रदेश अथवा स्वप्नवह नाड़ियों के भीतर निश्चल होकर अवस्थित रहता है, तभी स्वाप नामक विशेष संस्कार से असत् विषयों में भी सत् जैसा अनुभव 'स्वप्न' होता है। कुछ आचार्यों का विचार है कि इस स्थिति में अन्य सब इन्द्रियाँ उपरत हो जाती हैं, केवल त्वगिन्द्रिय का मन से संयोग रहता है और जब यह संयोग भी समाप्त हो जाता है, तब मन त्वचा को छोड़कर पुरीतत् नाड़ी में विश्राम करने लगता है और वह सुषुप्ति या गाढ निद्रा की स्थिति होती है। दूसरी ओर, अन्य विद्वानों के अनुसार स्वप्न सर्वथा 'उपरतेन्द्रियग्राम' व्यक्ति को होने वाला केवल मानस अनुभव है जो आत्मा और अन्तःकरण के सम्बन्ध से प्राणापान की प्रवृत्ति से प्रेरित होता है। स्वप्न के भेदों का वर्णन करते हुए वैशेषिक दर्शन में त्रिविध कारणों का उल्लेख हुआ है—संस्कार या मानसिक कारण, धातुदोष या शारीरिक कारण तथा अदृष्ट या अद्भुत, अनिर्वचनीय कारण। इस आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि वैशेषिक आचार्य केवल दार्शनिक या मनोवैज्ञानिक ही नहीं, अपितु शरीरशास्त्र के भी विशारद थे और उन्होंने स्वप्न जैसी दुर्बोध समस्या का सभी दृष्टियों से समाधान करने का प्रयास किया है।

उल्लेखनीय है कि भारतीय दर्शन की अन्य शाखाओं में भी स्वप्न-विवेचन हुआ है, तद्यथा—सांख्यमतानुसार स्वप्न संस्कारमात्रजन्य बुद्धि का विषयाकार परिणाम है[६५] जबकि पातञ्जलमत में स्वप्न स्मृतिविपर्ययरूप ही हैं जो अनुभव के बल से प्रत्यक्षायमान से प्रतीत होते हैं।[६६] प्राभाकर मीमांसक के मत में स्वप्न को यथार्थ

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६३. न चाविषया काचिदुपलब्धिः। —न्या. भा. (न्या. सू. ४/२/३२) पृ० ४८९.

६४. प्रत्यक्षाकारं स्वप्नज्ञानम्। —प्र. पा. भा., पृ. १५१.

६५. जाग्रत् स्वप्नः सुषुप्तं च गुणतो बुद्धिवृत्तयः। तासां विलक्षणो जीवः साक्षित्वेन व्यवस्थितः। —सां. प्र. भा. १/१४८.

६६. तत्र प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पा जाग्रदवस्था, ते एव तदनुभवबलात् प्रत्यक्षायमानाः स्वप्नाः। —भोजवृत्ति, १/११.

स्मृतिरूप माना गया है[६७] जबकि अद्वैत वेदान्त में स्वप्न का मायारूपत्व ही स्वीकार किया गया है[६८] यद्यपि श्रुति को उसका सत्यसूचक होना भी अभिमत है।[६९] इन सभी मतों का सारभूत तथ्य यही है कि मानस अनुभव स्वप्न एक सार्वजनिक, सार्वभौम सत्य है किन्तु उसकी व्याख्या एवं विश्लेषण इदमित्थंतया अशक्य ही है। शायद यही कारण है कि स्वप्नलोक हम सबको यथार्थलोक से अधिक आकर्षक एवं सुखद सा प्रतीत होता है। तथापि वैशेषिक आचार्यों ने इस विषय में अनेक शास्त्रीय सिद्धान्त स्थिर किये हैं एवं कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण नूतन मान्यतायें भी प्रकट की हैं। साररूप में कहा जा सकता है कि वैशेषिक मनोदर्शन में स्वप्न-सिद्धान्त के प्रायः सभी पक्षों का सम्यक् विश्लेषण हुआ है, अतः भारतीय मनोदर्शन के क्षेत्र में उसका योगदान अमूल्य एवं अविस्मरणीय है।

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६७. एवं स्वप्नेऽपि वस्तूनि स्मर्यमाणानि सन्त्यपि।
अनुभूतांशमोषेण भासन्ते गृह्यमाणवत्॥ —प्रकरणपञ्चिका, ४/४४.

६८. स्वप्ने स जीवः सुखदुःखभोक्ता स्वमायया कल्पितजीवलोके। —कैवल्योप. १/१३.
तथा -तस्मादुपपन्नं स्वप्नस्य मायामात्रत्वम्। —ब्र. सू. शां. भा. ३/२/६.

६९. यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति।
समृद्धिं तत्र जानीयात् तस्मिन् स्वप्ननिदर्शने॥ —छान्दोग्य, ५/२/९

अष्टाध्यायी में प्रयुक्त अविभक्तिक शब्द

डॉ० आनन्द कुमार श्रीवास्तव

इलाहाबाद

Referring to the sūtras of Pāṇini using words without *sup* and *tiṅ* vibhaktis, the author suggests that these usages represent the cases in which the vibhaktis have been dropped. The grammar of the 'object' language is liable to be different from the grammar of the 'meta' language.

पाणिनि शास्त्र के अनेक नाम प्राप्त होते हैं—अष्टक[१], पाणिनीय[२], शब्दानुशासन[३] एवं वृत्तिसूत्र[४]। किन्तु **अष्टाध्यायी** ही सर्वाधिक प्रचलित नाम है। यह ग्रन्थ अपनी विशालता, क्रमबद्धता एवं विराट् कल्पना के कारण भारतीय मनीषा के सर्वोत्तम निदर्शन के रूप में मान्य है। अकेले इसी ग्रन्थ ने अनेक भारतीय एवं पाश्चात्त्य अनुसन्धित्सुओं को आकृष्ट किया। सूत्र शैली में लिखा गया यही एक मात्र ऐसा ग्रन्थ हैं जो अर्थ की दृष्टि से सुस्पष्ट है और जिसके अनेक अर्थ नहीं किये गये।

पाणिनि ने लगभग चार हजार सूत्रों में संस्कृत भाषा के व्याकरण को यथासम्भव उपनिबद्ध किया। पाणिनि के पूर्व व्याकरण-सम्प्रदाय की महान् परम्परा थी। पाणिनि ने उसका मन्थन किया और अपनी कल्पना-शक्ति एवं बुद्धि कौशल से उसे वैज्ञानिक एवं नया रूप दिया। कालान्तर में पाणिनि की लोक-प्रसिद्धि ने 'आकुमारं यशः

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१. अष्टौ अध्यायाः परिमाणमस्य सूत्रस्य द्रष्टव्य अष्टाध्यायी ५.१.५६.

२. पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् द्रष्टव्य अष्टाध्यायी ४.३.१०१.

३. अथेत्ययं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते। शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम्। महाभाष्य ('अथ शब्दानुशासनम्' पर)

४. न ब्रूमो वृत्तिसूत्रवचनप्रामाण्यादिति। किं तर्हि? वार्त्तिकवचनप्रामाण्यादिति। महाभाष्य २.१.१.

पाणिने:' आदि उक्तियों को जन्म दिया और जिस प्रकार प्राय: वेदान्त दर्शन से शाङ्कर वेदान्त ही ग्रहण किया जाता है उसी प्रकार संस्कृत व्याकरण से पाणिनि-व्याकरण ही गृहीत होता है।

'प्रथमे हि विद्वांसो वैयाकरणा:' इत्यादि वाक्यों के मूल में **अष्टाध्यायी** ही है। यह निस्सन्देह मौलिक चिन्तन और अध्यवसाय का फल है। इसीलिये कहा गया है—'पाणिनीयं महत् सुविहितम्' अर्थात् पाणिनि का शास्त्र महान् और सुविचारित है। यह निर्विवाद तथ्य है कि पाणिनि ने पूर्व प्रतिष्ठित व्याकरण-सम्प्रदाय के नियमों का यथेच्छ उपयोग किया। कहीं-कहीं उन्होंने पूर्व व्याकरण-सिद्धान्त को अविकल रूप में ग्रहण किया तो कहीं मतभेद भी प्रदर्शित किया। इस विशाल शास्त्र के सुविचारित होने के पश्चात् भी भाषा की प्रकृति एवं प्रवाह के सर्वथा अनुरूप था कि उसमें कुछ चिन्त्य एवं विचारणीय तथ्य रह जाते। इन व्याकरण-गुत्थियों का समाधान कुछ तो परवर्ती वैयाकरणों ने प्रस्तुत किया किन्तु कुछ आज भी समाधान की अपेक्षा रखते हैं। प्रस्तुत लेख में **अष्टाध्यायी** के कुछ प्रतिनिधिभूत चिन्त्य प्रयोगों पर दृष्टिपात किया गया है।

संस्कृत भाषा का प्रतिष्ठित सिद्धान्त है—'अपदं न प्रयुञ्जीत'। साथ ही यह भी कहा गया है कि 'न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या, न केवलः प्रत्ययः' संस्कृत व्याकरण कीं दृष्टि में विभक्तिरहित शब्द निरर्थक होते हैं। इसीलिये, अर्थावबोध के लिये विभक्ति-विशेष (प्रथमा) का व्याख्यान किया गया है।[५] यह ठीक है कि मात्र पद-निर्माण ही **अष्टाध्यायी** का अभीष्ट नहीं।[६] फिर भी पाणिनि-व्याकरण में पद का महत्त्व सुविदित है। पाणिनि सूत्रों में प्राय: विभक्त्यन्त पदों का ही प्रयोग करते हैं किन्तु शताधिक सूत्र ऐसे हैं जिनमें विभक्तिरहित शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है। इन प्रयोगों को पाणिनि व्याकरण के अनुसार असाधु ही कहा जायगा। इन निर्विभक्तिक पदों को लिपिकार-प्रमाद भी नहीं स्वीकार किया जा सकता, प्रयोग बाहुल्य के कारण।

यह विचारणीय तथ्य है कि जब व्याकरणदृष्ट्या पद का प्रयोग ही संस्कृत भाषा में मान्य है तब स्वयं भाषानियामक व्याकरण ग्रन्थ में अ-पद का प्रयोग साधु शब्दानुशासनकारी आचार्य पाणिनि ने क्यों किया? यह सुनिश्चित है कि **अष्टाध्यायी** के

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५. प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा। अष्टा० २/३/४६.

६. ''ज्ञातव्य है कि यदि मात्र पद-निर्माण ही **अष्टाध्यायी** का अभीष्ट होता तो पद-सिद्धि के सूत्र एकत्र सन्निविष्ट होते। पद की सिद्धि के लिये सम्पूर्ण **अष्टाध्यायी** पढ़ना पड़ता है। वस्तुत: **अष्टाध्यायी** का लक्ष्य तो सुज्ञात भाषा के शब्दों का विश्लेषण अथवा साधुत्व-विवेचन है।'' —डॉ० रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य कृत पाणिनीय व्याकरण का अनुशीलन, पृ० ३

ये शतशः प्रयोग पाणिनि की साधुत्व निष्पादक प्रक्रिया से सिद्ध नहीं हो सकते। यद्यपि भाष्यकार पतञ्जलि का अनुरोध है—'व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहादलक्षणम्' पुनरपि यथोचित समाधान के अभाव में ये प्रयोग विभावनीय ही हैं।

अधोलिखित सूत्रों में अविभक्तिक शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है—

शे (१.१.१३)-शे, **मध्ये पदे निवचने च** (१.४.७५)-मध्ये-पदे-निवचने, **पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा** (२.१.७)-पारे मध्ये, **च्लि लुङि** (३.१.४३)-च्लि, **श्रुवः शृ च** (३.१.७४)-शृ, **धिन्विकृण्व्योर च** (३.१.८०)-अ, **हनस्त च** (३.१.१०८)-त, **ई च खनः** (३.१.१११)-ई, **स्थः क च** (३.२.७७) क, **कर्मणीनि विक्रियः** (३.२.९३)-इनि, **इङ् धार्य्योः शत्रकृच्छ्रिणि** (३.२.१३०)-शतृ, **नौ ण च** (३.३.६०)-ण, **स्तम्बे क च** (३.३.८३)-क, **कृञः श च** (३.३.१००)-श, **अ प्रत्ययात्** (३.३.१०२)-अ, **खनो घ च** (३.३.१२५)-घ, **टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे** (३.४.७९)-ए, **थासस्से** (३.४.८०)-से, **सेर्ह्यपिच्च** (३.४.८७)-हि, **एत ऐ** (३.४.९३)-ऐ, **आत ऐ** (३.४.९५)-ऐ, **वनो र च** (४.१.७)-र, **पूतक्रतौरै च** (४.१.३६)-ऐ, **मनोरौ वा** (४.१.३८)- औ, **कन्यायाः कनीन च** (४.१.११६)-कनीन, **फेश्छ च** (४.१.१४९)- छ, **कौमारापूर्ववचने** (४.२.१२)-कौमार, **छ च** (४.२.२७)-छ, **द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमवास्तोष्पति-गृहमेधाच्छ च** (४.२.३१)-छ, **राज्ञः क च** (४.२.१३९)-क, **पन्थः पन्थ च** (४.३.२९)-पन्थ, **अ च** (४.३.३१)-अ, **आयुधाच्छ च** (४.४.१४)-छ, **मघोर्ञ च** (४.४.१२९)-ञ, **पुत्राच्छ च** (५.१.३९)-छ, **कडङ्करदक्षिणाच्छ च** (५.१.६८)-छ, **पन्थो ण नित्यम्** (५.१.७५)-ण, **अद्यश्वीनावष्टब्धे** (५.२.१३)-अद्यश्वीन, **अभ्यमित्राच्छ च** (५.२.१७)-छ, **इनच्पिटच्चिकचि च** (५.२.३३)-चिकचि, **किमः संख्यापरिमाणे डति च** (५.२.४१)-डति, **वा ह च छन्दसि** (५.३.१३)-ह, **आहि च दूरे** (५.३.३७)-आहि, **पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरधवश्चैषाम्** (५.३.३९)-असि, **षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां ञ च** (५.३.५०)-ञ, **षष्ठ्या रूप्य च** (५.३.५४)-रूप्य, **ज्य च** (५.३.६१)-ज्य, **जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि** (५.४.९)-छ, **किमेत्तिङव्ययघादाम्वद्रव्यप्रकर्षे** (५.४.११)-आमु, **अमु चच्छन्दसि** (५.४.१२)-अमु, **विभाषा साति कार्त्स्न्ये** (५.४.५२)-साति, **ऋक्पूरब्धूःपथामानक्षे** (५.४.७४)-अ, **द्वित्रिभ्यां ष मूर्ध्नः** (५.४.११५)-ष, **वयसि दन्तस्य दतृ** (५.४.१४१)-दतृ, **जक्षित्यादयः षट्** (६.१.६)-जक्ष्, **चायः की** (६.१.२१)-की, **स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम्** (६.१.२२)-स्फी, **प्यायः पी** (६.१.२८)-पी, **चायः की** (६.१.३४)-की, **औतोम्शसोः** (६.१.९०)-आ, **ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य** (६.१.१२६)-ई३, **अन्तश्च तवै युगपत्** (६.१.१९४)-तवै, **तवै चान्तश्च युगपत्** (६.२.५१)-तवै, **पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु** (६.३.५१)-पद, **इदङ्किमोरीश्की** (६.३.८९)-ईश्की, **विष्वग्देवयोश्च टेरद्र्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये** (६.३.९१)-अद्रि, **समः समि** (६.३.९२)-समि, **तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे** (६.३.९३)-

तिरि, **सधमादस्थयोश्छन्दसि** (६.३.९५)-सध, **नोपधायाः** (६.४.७)-न, **इरयो रे** (६.४.७६)-रे, **ई हल्यघोः** (६.४.११३)-ई, **आ च हो** (६.४.११७)-आ, **अर्वणस्त्रसावनञः** (६.४.१२७)-तृ, **बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः** (६.४.१५८)-भू, **जसः शी** (७.१.१७)-शी, **शसो न** (७.१.२९)-न, **आत औ णलः** (७.१.३४)-औ, **क्त्वापि च्छन्दसि** (७.१.३८)-क्त्वा, **इदन्तो मसि** (७.१.४८)-मसि, **ई च द्विवचने** (७.१.७७)-ई, **हु ह्वरेश्छन्दसि** (७.२.३१)-हु, **बभूथाततन्थजगृम्भववर्थेति निगमे** (७.२.६४)-बभूथ, आततन्थ, जगृम्भ, ववर्थ, **त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ** (७.२.९९)-तिसृचतसृ, **क्वाऽति** (७.२.१०५)-क्व, **अदस औ सुलोपश्च** (७.२.१०७)-औ, **अनाप्यकः** (७.२.११२)-अन, **दयतेर्दिगि लिटि** (७.४.९)-दिगि, **ई घ्राध्मोः** (७.४.३१)-ई, **सुधितवसुधितनेमधितधिष्वधिषीय च** (७.४.४५)-सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, धिष्व, धिषीय, **ई च गणः** (७.४.९७)-ई, **एहिमन्ये प्रहासे लृट्** (८.१.४६)-एहिमन्ये, **वैवावेति च च्छन्दसि** (८.१.६४)-वैवाव, **न मु ने** (८.२.३)-मु, **आसन्दीवदष्ठीवच्चक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वच्चर्मण्वती** (८.२.१२)-आसन्दीवत्, अष्ठीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमण्वत्, **मतुवसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि** (८.३.१)-रु, **द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वोऽर्थे** (८.३.४३)-द्विस्त्रिश्चतुः, **नश्च धातुस्थोरुषुभ्यः** (८.४.२६)-नः इत्यादि।

परवर्ती वैयाकरण भाष्यकार पतञ्जलि को एतादृश प्रयोगों की साधुता प्रदर्शित करने के लिये व्याकरण (वेदाङ्ग) को भी वेदवत् स्वीकार करना पड़ा और उन्होंने 'छन्दोवत् सूत्राणि भवन्ति' न्याय उद्धृत कर सूत्रों को आर्षवचन मानकर समाधान का प्रयास किया[७]। यह मान लिये जाने पर कि सूत्रीय शब्द का रूप वैदिक शब्दवत् होता है तब वैदिक प्रयोगों में जो कार्य होते हैं वही व्याकरणिक सूत्रों पर भी लागू स्वीकार किये गये और कुछ स्थलों पर 'सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः' (७.१.३९) सूत्र से सुप् का लुक् स्वीकार कर इन प्रयोगों को उचित ठहराया गया तो कहीं कुछ व्यत्ययग्रस्त शब्दों को निपातन सिद्ध मान लिया गया।

वस्तुतः यह समुचित समाधान नहीं है। इन विलक्षण-प्रयोगों के वास्तविक कारणों का शोध अपेक्षित है। छन्दोवत् न्याय तो आपातरमणीय समाधान है। डॉ० रामशङ्कर भट्टाचार्य का अभिमत है कि इन प्रयोगों में छन्दोवत् न्याय लागू करने की अपेक्षा निपातन आदि सामान्य नियम (निपातनात् सिद्धम् या आचार्यव्यवहारात् सिद्धम्)

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७. ''वैशेषिक सूत्र 'इषावयुगपत् संयोगविशेषाः' (५.१.१६) की व्याख्या में शङ्कर मिश्र लिखते हैं—'इषाविति षष्ठ्यर्थे सप्तमी'। यहाँ विभक्ति-व्यत्यय है, जो छान्दस प्रयोगवत् है।''

—पाणिनीय व्याकरण का अनुशीलन, पृ० ९६.

स्वीकार कर ही इन विलक्षण स्थलों की संगति उपपत्ति की जा सकती है।[८]

पाणिनि द्वारा शास्त्रमर्यादा के विपरीत अविभक्तिक पदों के प्रयोग के सम्बन्ध में एक संभावना यह भी है कि ये प्रयोग प्राक् पाणिनीय हैं और महर्षि पाणिनि ने इन्हें पूर्वाचार्यों से ज्यों का त्यों ग्रहण कर लिया हो। यह भी संभव है कि किसी प्राक्तन व्याकरण सम्प्रदाय में परिस्थिति-विशेष में अविभक्तिक पदों के प्रयोग की मान्यता रही हो और पाणिनि ने वहाँ से कुछ सूत्र अथवा सूत्रांश **अष्टाध्यायी** हेतु संगृहीत किये हों। यह भी संभावना है कि पाणिनि ने जिस व्याकरण सम्प्रदाय से ये प्रयोग ग्रहण किये हों वहाँ ये साधुरूप से स्वीकृत रहे हों और ये अविभक्तिक न होकर लुप्तविभक्तिक हों। इस सन्दर्भ में यह उल्लेखनीय है कि वैदिक साहित्य में अविभक्तिक प्रयोग शतशः उपलब्ध होते हैं और परवर्ती साहित्य में ऐसे प्रयोग अल्पतर होने लगे हैं।

डॉ० सरोजा भाटे एतादृश प्रयोगों के लिये दूसरा समाधान प्रस्तुत करती हैं। तदनुसार भाषा दो प्रकार की होती है—साध्य भाषा (Object Language) और साधन भाषा (Meta Language) जिस भाषा का व्याकरण लिखा जाता है उसे साध्य भाषा (व्यवहार भाषा अथवा प्रयोग भाषा एवं वाङ्मय की भाषा) और जिस भाषा में व्याकरण लिखा जाता है उसे साधन भाषा कहते हैं। यद्यपि प्रकृत प्रकरण में साध्य भाषा एवं साधन भाषा दोनों ही संस्कृत हैं अर्थात् पाणिनि ने संस्कृत भाषा का व्याकरण संस्कृत में ही निबद्ध किया तथापि दोनों के रूप में भेद है। सूत्र-रचना के लिये पाणिनि ने जिस भाषा का प्रयोग किया है उसका व्याकरण साध्य संस्कृत के व्याकरण से पृथक् है। अतएव यह निश्चित है कि साध्य भाषा के व्याकरण-नियम साधन-भाषा पर अविकल रूप से लागू नहीं होते। सूत्र भाषा अनेक दृष्टियों से प्रयोग भाषा से भिन्न है।

अतः सूत्रों में जो अपाणिनीय प्रयोग प्राप्त होते हैं, वे असाधु प्रयोग हैं, ऐसा मानकर पाणिनि पर दोषारोप नहीं किया जा सकता और न ही इन प्रयोगों को भाषा में साधु प्रयोगत्वेन स्वीकार किया जा सकता है। उदाहरण के रूप में कहा जा सकता है कि जिस प्रकार संगणक (Computer) के कार्यक्रम (Programme) के लिये किसी अन्य सांकेतिकी भाषा का प्रयोग किया जाता है उसी प्रकार पाणिनि सूत्रों की भाषा संकेतभाषा (Code Language) जैसी है, जिसका स्वतंत्र व्याकरण है।[९]

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८. वही, पृ० १००.

९. द्रष्टव्य-भवतेरः (७.४.७३) इत्यादि प्रयोग। लोक-व्यवहार में 'भवतेः' प्रभृति पदों का प्रयोग श्लाघ्य नहीं है। इसी प्रकार सूत्रभाषा में पञ्चमी, षष्ठी, सप्तमी आदि विभक्तियों का प्रयोग अन्य अर्थों—परतः, स्थाने, परसप्तमी, विषय सप्तमी, निमित्तसप्तमी आदि में

उपर्युक्त अविभक्तिक पदों के सम्बन्ध में यही तथ्य स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिए कि जिस प्रकार प्रयोग भाषा में विभक्त्यन्त पदों का ही प्रयोग होता है उसी प्रकार व्याकरण (सूत्र) की भाषा में सभी पद विभक्त्यन्त होने चाहिये, ऐसा नियम नहीं है। इन अस्वाभाविक प्रयोगों का रहस्य यही है कि व्याकरण-भाषा का व्याकरण व्यवहार-भाषा से भिन्न होता है। सम्भव है यहाँ लोकभाषा प्रतिबिम्बित हुई हो, यद्यपि इसकी पुष्टि के लिये प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं है।

अविभक्तिक प्रयोगों की प्रकृति पर विचार करने से ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि जिन शब्दों के अन्त में आ, ई, ऋ, ए, ऐ, स्वर होते हैं उनमें पाणिनि प्रायः प्रथमा विभक्ति में सुप् प्रत्यय का प्रयोग नहीं करते। यथा—श्रुवः श्‍ृ च शतृ-अकृच्छ्रिणि, थासस्से, मनोः औ वा, एत ऐ, ई च खनः इत्यादि। यदि यहाँ सु प्रत्यय का प्रयोग किया जाता तो शा, शता, ईश् (सन्धिजन्य रूप) आदि रूप होते। फलस्वरूप यह सन्देह हो सकता था कि 'श्‍ृ' इत्याकारक आदेश हो अथवा 'शा' इत्याकारक। अतएव सम्भवतः सन्देह निवारण एवं स्पष्टता के लिये ही पाणिनि अविभक्त्यन्त पद का प्रयोग करते हैं जिससे आदेश अथवा प्रत्यय के स्वरूप का स्पष्ट ज्ञान हो जाय।

अकारान्त शब्दों के अविभक्तिक रूपों के विषय में भी कहा जा सकता है कि विभक्तिरहित पदों के प्रयोग का प्रयोजन सन्देह निवारण ही है। यथा 'राज्ञः क च' (४.२.१३९) में 'क' के सविभक्तिक हो जाने पर सूत्र का स्वरूप होगा—'राज्ञः कश्च'। इस स्थिति में यह स्पष्ट नहीं होगा कि 'ककार' आदेश होगा अथवा 'कश्कार'। इसी प्रकार सूत्रों में जहाँ-जहाँ चकार का अनन्तर प्रयोग है, वहाँ प्रायः अविभक्तिक रूप उपलब्ध होता है, क्योंकि चकार के साथ सन्धि होने पर विसर्ग के शकार हो जाने से कश् , खश् , अश् आदि सन्देहोत्पादक रूप बनते। जहाँ चकार का अनन्तर प्रयोग नहीं है वहाँ विभक्त्यन्त रूप ही उपलब्ध होते हैं। यथा-त्यदादीनाम् अः (७.२.१०२), आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः (३.२.३), वृद्धाच्छः (४.२.११३) इत्यादि। इस प्रकार यह स्वीकार किया जा सकता है कि अविभक्तिक प्रयोग का मूल प्रयोजन है संशय की निवृत्ति।

अविभक्तिक पदों के सम्बन्ध में एक और नियम भी दृष्टिगत होता है कि जहाँ प्रयोगस्थ रूपों का अनुकरण सूत्रों में किया जाता है वहाँ अविभक्तिक पदों का ही

किया गया है। यथा, संहितायां (६.१.७०)—संहितायां विषये। इको यणचि (६.१.७४)—अचि परतः इकः स्थाने यण् भवति। इत्यादि सूत्रों में भिन्न शब्द रूप प्रयोग किये गये हैं, जिनका भाषा में कदापि प्रयोग संभव नहीं। किन्तु ऐसे प्रयोगों का क्या प्रयोज़न है, यह चिन्त्य है।

प्रयोग होता है। यथा एहि मन्ये प्रहासे लृट्, बभूथाततन्थजगृम्भववर्थेति निगमे, आसन्दीवदष्ठीवच्चक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वच्चर्मण्वती, इत्यादि। सूत्रों में इनका केवल अनुकरण किया गया है। अतः विभक्ति उपपत्ति का अवसर ही नहीं है। इन स्थलों पर 'इति' शब्द का प्रयोग—एहिमन्ये इति, बभूथ इति, आततन्थ इति आदि करने पर लाघव की हानि होती, अतएव पाणिनि ने 'इति' शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं किया। इस प्रकार स्वरूप-विशेष अभिप्रेत होने के कारण अविभक्तिक निर्देश उपपन्न ही है।

किन्तु अ प्रत्ययात्, कन्यायाः कनीन च, द्वित्रिभ्यां ष मूर्धन्यः, कौमारापूर्ववचने, पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरधवश्चैषाम्, जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि, विभाषा साति कार्त्स्न्ये इत्यादि सूत्रों में अविभक्तिक निर्देश का आपाततः कोई प्रयोजन नहीं दिखायी देता।

कुछ निर्विभक्तिक पद वाले स्थलों को समस्त पद भी स्वीकार किया जा सकता है। यथा, कर्मणीनिविक्रियः, अद्यश्वीनावष्टब्धे, अनृष्यानन्तर्ये विदादिभ्योऽञ्, सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् , अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति, ङे. प्रथमयोरम्, सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य इत्यादि। क्षीरस्वामीकृत क्षीरतरंगिणी में कर्मणीनिर्विक्रियः पाठान्तर उपलब्ध होता है। 'नादिन्याक्रोशे' में 'आदिनि' पद को सप्तम्यन्त स्वीकार किया जा सकता है। टीकाकारों ने स्वाभिप्रायानुसार इसे स्त्रीलिङ्ग 'आदिनी' मान लिया है। इसी प्रकार 'क्त्वापि च्छन्दसि' में भी 'क्त्वा' को स्त्रीलिङ्ग मानकर विभक्त्यन्त माना जा सकता है।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि यदि यह स्वीकार कर लिया जाय कि सूत्रभाषा में विभक्तियों का वह प्रयोजन नहीं होता जो व्यवहार भाषा में होता है तो इन समस्त शङ्काओं का समाधान हो जाता है। वस्तुतः सूत्र शैली का यही महत्त्व है।

यहाँ यह भी ध्येय है कि मौखिक परम्परा से रक्षित सूत्रों के स्वरूप में कालान्तर में परिवर्तन अवश्य हुआ होगा। संभव है कौमारापूर्ववचने, पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु, दयतेर्दिगि लिटि, एकतद्धिते च इत्यादि सूत्रों में लाघवार्थ रूप परिवर्तन हो गया हो। जिस प्रकार कालान्तर में लाघवार्थ रूप-परिवर्तन हुआ उसी प्रकार नूतन सूत्रों का प्रक्षेप भी हुआ होगा। इस सन्दर्भ में यह ज्ञातव्य है कि प्रायः विद्वान् यह स्वीकार करते हैं कि **अष्टाध्यायी** में अनेक सूत्र प्रक्षिप्त हैं।

'अतो ऌान्तस्य' में लृ के स्थान पर ल् -र् की सन्धि स्वीकार की जा सकती है। उद्योत एवं शब्देन्दुशेखर में 'अतो र्लान्तस्य' पाठ उपलब्ध होता है।

अष्टाध्यायी में लगभग 127 पद अविभक्तिक हैं, जिनमें से आधे से अधिक

एकाक्षर हैं। यह आश्चर्य का विषय है कि टीकाकारों ने भी इन प्रयोगों की ओर अपेक्षित ध्यान नहीं दिया है। एक तो अनेक सूत्रों पर महाभाष्य उपलब्ध नहीं है दूसरे जिन सूत्रों पर महाभाष्य उपलब्ध है वहाँ भी एतादृश प्रयोगों को बहुत सामान्य रूप से ग्रहण किया गया है। वार्त्तिककार, महाभाष्यकार एवं काशिकाकार प्रायः अविभक्तिक शब्दों को वार्त्तिक, महाभाष्य एवं वृत्ति में सविभक्तिक लिखते हैं। यथा, हनस्त च (३.१.१०८) पर वार्त्तिक है—'हनस्तश्चित्स्त्रियां छन्दसि'। स्तम्बे क च (३.३.८३) पर महाभाष्य वचन है—'कस्माद् अयं को विधीयते'। पुत्राच्छ च (५.१.३९) पर काशिका वृत्ति है—'पुत्रशब्दाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पत्तौ इत्येतस्मिन्विषये।' कहीं-कहीं पर वृत्ति में अविभक्तिक शब्दों के आगे इतिकरण किया गया है। यथा, ज्य च (५.३.६१) पर वृत्ति है—'प्रशस्यशब्दस्य ज्य इत्ययमादेशो भवति'।

उपर्युक्त सूत्रों के अतिरिक्त कुछ सूत्रों में लुप्ततृतीयान्त, लुप्तपञ्चम्यन्त, लुप्तषष्ठ्यन्त एवं लुप्तसप्तम्यन्त पदों का प्रयोग हुआ है। यथा-**तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन** (२.१.२९) यहाँ 'तत्कृत' में लुप्ततृतीयान्त निर्देश है। वस्तुतः 'तत्कृतेन' होना चाहिये।

सृ स्थिरे (३.३.१७)-सृ, **कृ धान्ये** (३.३.३०)-कृ, **नौ वृ धान्ये** (३.३.४८)-वृ, **अनृष्यानन्तर्ये विदादिभ्योऽञ्** (४.१.१०४)-अनृषि, **नृ चान्यतरस्याम्** (६.१.१७८)-नृ, सूत्रों में लुप्तपञ्चम्यन्त का प्रयोग हुआ है।

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृ वेदनायाम् (३.१.१८)-कर्तृ, **एकतद्धिते च** (६.३.६१)-एक, **न तिसृचतसृ** (६.४.४)-तिसृचतसृ, **नृ च** (६.४.६)- नृ, **सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य** (६.४.१०)-सान्त, **अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति** (६.४.३७)-अनुनासिक, **ति विंशतेर्डिति** (६.४.१४२)-ति, **ङे प्रथमयोरम्** (७.१.२८)-ङे, **अतो ल्रान्तस्य** (७.२.२)-लृ, **तासि च क्लृपः** (७.२.६०)-तासि, **ईशः से** (७.२.७७)-से, **ईडजनोर्ध्वे च** (७.२.७८)-ध्वे, **अतो येयः** (७.२.८०)-या, **न लोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य** (८.२.७)-न, प्रातिपदिक, **अहन्** (८.२.६८)-अहन्, **अम्नरूधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि** (८.२.७०)-अम्नरूधरवर्, **ये यज्ञकर्मणि** (८.२.८८)-ये, **नृन् पे** (८.३.१०)-नृन्, **स्वतवान्पायौ** (८.३.११)-स्वतवान्, **कानाम्रेडिते** (८.३.१२)-कान्, **हिनु मीना** (८.४.१५)-हिनु मीना, **आनि लोट्** (८.४.१६)-आनि, सूत्रों में लुप्तषष्ठ्यन्त का प्रयोग हुआ है।

वस्वेकाजाद्घसाम् (७.२.६७)-वसु, **नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य** (८.४.४७)-आदिनी में लुप्तसप्तम्यन्त पद का प्रयोग हुआ है।

उपर्युक्त प्रयोगों के अतिरिक्त कतिपय स्थलों पर विभक्ति व्यत्यय के प्रयोग भी

दृष्टिगत होते हैं। यथा-**निन्दहिंसक्लिशखादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो वुञ्**(३.२.१४६)-निन्द-हिंस-क्लिश-खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परिवादि-व्याभाषा-असूयः, **मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमनविदभूवीरा उदात्तः** (३.३.९६)-वृषेषपचमन-विदभूवीराः, **दन्त उन्नत उरच्** (५.२.१०६)-दन्तः, इन समस्त स्थलों में पञ्चमी के स्थान पर प्रथमा विभक्ति का प्रयोग हुआ है।

इसी प्रकार **स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलम्** (६.१.१२९)-स्यः, **सोऽचि लोपे चेत् पादपूरणम्** (६.१.१३०)-सः, **चितः** (६.१.१५७)-चितः, **मघवा बहुलम्** (६.४.१२८)—मघवा, **नश्छव्यप्रशान्** (८.३.७)—अप्रशान्, **अधः शिरसीपदे** (८.३.४७). अधः शिरसी, **सदिरप्रतेः** (८.३.६६)-सदिः, **भीरोः स्थानम्** (८.३.८१)-स्थानम्, **वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकासारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्यः** (८.४.४)-वनम्, **अह्नोऽदन्तात्** (८.४.७)-अह्नः, इन स्थलों में षष्ठी के अर्थ में प्रथमा विभक्ति का प्रयोग हुआ है।

यजजपदशां यङः (३.२.१६६) एवं **स्वपितृषोर्नजिङ्** (३.२.१७३)-यहाँ 'यजजपदशाम्' एवं 'स्वपितृषोः' में पञ्चमी विभक्ति के स्थान में षष्ठी विभक्ति का प्रयोग हुआ है। पाणिनि धातु से प्रत्यय का विधान करते समय धातु में पञ्चमी विभक्ति का ही प्रयोग करते हैं। पर यहाँ षष्ठी विभक्ति का प्रयोग हो गया है। एतादृश स्थलों पर व्याख्याकार प्रायः 'पञ्चम्यर्थे षष्ठी' कह देते हैं। **अभाषितपुंस्काच्च** (७.३.४८)—यहाँ षष्ठी के अर्थ में पञ्चमी विभक्ति का प्रयोग हुआ है। वस्तुतः 'अभाषितपुंस्कस्य' होना चाहिये।

इसी प्रकार **रुदश्च पञ्चभ्यः** (७.३.९८)—मे 'रुदः' पद में बहुवचन के स्थान पर एकवचन का प्रयोग हुआ है। यहाँ 'रुदादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः' कहना अधिक उचित है। **समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले क्त्वा** (३.४.२१)-सूत्र में द्विवचन अतन्त्र है। **ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः** (१.२.२७)—यहाँ ह्रस्वश्च दीर्घश्च प्लुतश्च इति इतरेतर द्वन्द्व समास होने के कारण बहुवचन होना चाहिए किन्तु सौत्र होने के कारण एकवचन हो गया।

उपर्युक्त अविभक्तिक एवं विभक्ति व्यत्यय के प्रयोगों के अतिरिक्त **अष्टाध्यायी** में अनेक शब्द प्रयोग ऐसे हैं जिनका साधुत्व असाधुत्व चिन्त्य है।

इस प्रकार यह सुस्पष्ट है कि **अष्टाध्यायी** के सैकड़ों प्रयोग ऐसे हैं जो पाणिनि व्याकरण से सिद्ध नहीं हो सकते। इस प्रसङ्ग में यह भी ध्येय है कि कहीं-कहीं कात्यायन भी वार्त्तिकों में अविभक्तिक शब्दों का प्रयोग करते हैं। यथा, **शतरुद्राद् घ च** (५३४६)—घ। एतादृश प्रयोग अद्यावधि चिन्त्यहैं और अनुसन्धान-सापेक्ष हैं। इनके समाधान में केवल इतना कहा जा सकता है कि इन अस्वाभाविक प्रयोगों का रहस्य

यह है कि व्याकरण-भाषा का व्याकरण व्यवहार-भाषा के व्याकरण से पृथक् होता है। अथवा संशयराहित्य की दृष्टि से ऐसे प्रयोग किये गये। यह भी सम्भव है कि प्राक्तन व्याकरण-सम्प्रदाय में ये शब्द अतिप्रचलित होने के कारण ज्यों के त्यों ले लिये गये हों। यह भी स्वीकार किया जा सकता है कि व्याकरण-भाषा में लोकभाषा प्रतिबिम्बित हुई है किन्तु इसका कोई निदर्शन अथवा प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं है।

शृङ्गाराद्वैतदर्शनम्

डॉ० ब्रजेशकुमारशुक्लः

लखनऊ

समग्रेष्वप्यौपनिषद्दर्शनेषु शङ्कराचार्यप्रवर्तितस्याऽद्वैतवादस्य महनीयं स्थानं वर्तते। बादरायणप्रणीतब्रह्मसूत्रोपरि विविधभाष्यादिभिः क्वचिदद्वैतवादः क्वचिद् विशिष्टाद्वैतवादः क्वचिच्च शुद्धाऽद्वैतवादादयो वेदान्तदर्शने दरीदृश्यन्ते। भगवतः श्रीकृष्णस्य गोपिकाभिः सार्द्धं शृङ्गारप्रसङ्गे जीवगोस्वामिप्रभृतिभिराचार्यैर्भक्तिरसस्य कल्पना विहिता, परन्त्वत्र कस्यचिद् दर्शनस्योपपत्तिः केनचिदपि नाऽकारि। एतस्मिंश्च शृङ्गारप्रसङ्ग आलम्बनाद्वैत-प्रतिपादनात्तथा च शृङ्गाररससहृदययोरभेदारोपाच्च दर्शनमेतच्छृङ्गाराद्वैतदर्शनं भवितुमर्हति ब्रह्मजीवयोरिव नायिकानायकयोस्तत्क्षणाऽ-भेदरूपत्वान्मिलनोत्कटाभिलाषत्वाच्च। शृङ्गाराद्वैतशब्दस्याऽर्थः शृङ्गारस्याद्वैतमिति कर्तुं न युज्यतेऽपितु शृङ्गारे नायिकानायकाख्यालम्बने शृङ्गाररसे चाऽत्र द्वैतताऽनुभूयते। अत एव शृङ्गाराद्वैतस्य त्रयो भेदा भवितुमर्हन्ति—(१) नायिकाद्वैतम् (२) नायकाद्वैतम् (३) शृङ्गाररसाद्वैतञ्च। नायकेन नायिकाद्वैतमनुभूयते, नायिकया नायकाद्वैतमनुभूयते सहृदयेन च शृङ्गाररसाद्वैतमास्वाद्यते। यथा सजातीयविजातीयस्वगतभेदशून्यत्वं ब्रह्मणोऽद्वैतं लक्ष्यते तथैव नायिकायां, नायके शृङ्गाररसे च भेदत्रयस्याऽभावत्वं शृङ्गाराद्वैतं सिद्ध्यति। भ्रमभूते संसारे यथा ब्रह्मणो व्यतिरिक्तं वृक्षपर्वतजनादिनानात्वप्रतीतिर्व्यावहारिकी विद्यते तथैव शृङ्गाराद्वैतेऽत्राऽऽलम्बनोद्दीपनविभावभ्रूविक्षेपकटाक्षाद्यनुभावहर्षलज्जादिव्यभिचारि-भावानां मिथ्याव्यावहारिकप्रतीत्या क्वचित्सत्यभूतस्याऽऽलम्बनाद्वैतस्य तत्रैव च सहृदयानां कृते शृङ्गाररसाद्वैतस्य सिद्धिर्भवति। अपि च 'सोऽकामयत। बहुस्याम्।[1]'' इति तैत्तिरीया श्रुतिरपि पुरुषस्येव ब्रह्मणः कामाभिलाषं विवृणुते। किन्तु न च लौकिके सम्भोगादौ शृङ्गाराद्वैतदर्शनस्य कणिकाऽपि विद्यते तस्य रसत्वाभावात्। शृङ्गारादिरसानामलौकिकता काव्यशास्त्रिभिरङ्गीकृता 'रसो वै सः। रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वाऽऽनन्दीभवती[2]' ति श्रुतिप्रमाणादपि तस्य ब्रह्मस्वरूपत्वमेव। 'ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदरः'[3] इत्यपि कथनाद् रसस्य

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१. तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदि २/६/३

२. तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदि २/७/१

३. साहित्यदर्पणे ३/२

ब्रह्मास्वादसदृशतमता निगदिता। अत एव शृङ्गारेऽद्वैतदर्शनकल्पनौचित्यं भजते। भवभूतिनोत्तररामचरिते भर्तृहरिणा **शृङ्गारशतके,** अमरुककविनाऽमरुकशतके च कतिपयेषु पद्येषु शृङ्गाराद्वैतस्य सङ्केतः कृतः। अपि च **श्रीमद्भागवते** श्रीकृष्णस्य गोपिकाभिः समं सम्भोगवियोगवर्णनेऽद्वैतसुधाधारा या प्रवहति, तस्याः पर्यवसानं शृङ्गाराद्वैतदर्शन एव कर्तुं युज्यते। द्रविडाम्नाये श्रीशठकोपाद्यालवाराणां रचनासु दाम्पत्यभावात्मिकाभक्तिप्रपत्ती शृङ्गाराद्वैततरङ्गिणीं प्रवाहयतः। स्त्रीपुरुषयोरभेदप्रतिपादक-श्रुत्याऽपि शृङ्गाराद्वैतस्य सिद्धिर्भवति, यथोक्तं **श्रीभाष्ये**—

'स्त्रीपुंसौ ब्रह्मणो जातौ स्त्रियो ब्रह्मोत वा पुमान्।' इत्याथर्वणिकानां संहितोपनिषदि ब्रह्मसूक्तेऽभेदश्रवणाच्च[४]। नायिकाया नायकेऽनुरक्तिरथवा नायकस्य नायिकायामनुरागो यत्र विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिमुखेन वर्ण्यते तत्र शृङ्गाररसो निष्पद्यते। शृङ्गाररसेन सह सहृदयानां तादात्म्यसम्बन्धादभेदापत्तेश्च शृङ्गाराद्वैतदर्शनं बोभूयते। न चाऽन्यरसैः साकं रसिकानां तादात्म्यापत्तेरद्वैतताऽनुभूयते तादृक्संयोगवियोगभावाऽनुपपत्तेः। शृङ्गारव्यतिरिक्तरसानां वर्णने रसाद्वैताभाव एव स्याज्जनानां चित्तवृत्तेर्भिन्नरूपत्वादद्वैत—भावस्याऽकल्पनाच्च। अपि च सम्भोगवियोगावस्थयोर्नायिकानायकयोः शृङ्गाररसोद्रेकात् तद्रसेन साकं तयोस्तादात्म्यापत्तेः शृङ्गाराद्वैतं ताभ्यामास्वाद्यते—'काव्यार्थभावनास्वादो नर्तकस्य न वार्यते[५]' इति वचनात्। अभिनवगुप्तपादै रसस्यालौकिकत्वं ब्रह्मास्वादपरत्वं च निगदितमेव[६] शृङ्गाराद्वैते नायिकानायकयोरभेदत्वमलौकिकरसद्वारा प्रतिपाद्यते। यतो हि ब्रह्मणः स्त्रीपुरुषयोरभेदत्वं **श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि** प्रतिपादितमेवं वर्तते—

त्वं स्त्री त्वं पुमानसि त्वं कुमार उत वा कुमारी।
त्वं जीर्णो दण्डेन वञ्चसि त्वं जातो भवसि विश्वतोमुखः॥[७]

एवमत्र श्रुतिप्रतिपादितवाक्येन स्त्रीपुरुषयोर्ब्रह्मणा सार्द्धमभेदस्य विद्यमान-त्वाच्छृङ्गाराद्वैतशास्त्रं प्रामाण्यं भजते। यथाऽदृष्टे ब्रह्मणि जीवस्तद् द्रष्टुं वाञ्छति दर्शने सत्यालिङ्गितुमिच्छति, आलिङ्गने च तयोरभेदं वरीवर्ति तथैवाऽऽयताक्ष्या आलिङ्गने तयोर्विग्रहयोरभेदत्वं भर्तृहरिणाऽङ्गीकृतम्—

अदर्शने दर्शनमात्रकामा
दृष्ट्वा परिष्वङ्गरसैकलोलाः।

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४. श्रीभाष्ये १/१/४, पृ० २६३
५. दशरूपके ४/४२
६. अभिनवभारत्यां षष्ठाध्याये, पृ० ५०२-५०३
७. श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि ४/३

आलिङ्गितायाः पुनरायताक्ष्या
आशास्महे विग्रहयोरभेदम्[८] **॥**

नायिकानायकयोरेकचित्ततैव संसारेऽस्मिन् कामफलतामुपयाति। चित्तस्याऽन्यत्र-गामितया शवयोः सङ्गम एवाऽभिधातुं शक्यः—

एतत्कामफलं लोके यद् द्वयोरेकचित्तता।
अन्यचित्तकृते कामं शवयोरिव सङ्गमः[९] **॥**

यदा ब्रह्मजीवयोः सम्मेलनं भवति तदा जीवे सुखदुःखयोरभावः सञ्जायते, किन्तु जीवेन्द्रियगणस्य परिमूढरूपत्वान्मोहनिद्राविषमदविकारैस्तच्चैतन्यं भ्राम्यते सम्मील्यते चेति जीवः स्वयमेव ज्ञातुं न प्रभवति—

विनिश्चेतुं शक्यो न सुखमिति दुःखमिति वा।
प्रमोहो निद्रा वा किमु विषविसर्पः किमु मदः ॥
तव स्पर्शे स्पर्शे मम हि परिमूढेन्द्रियगणो।
विकारश्चैतन्यं भ्रमयति च सम्मीलयति च[१०] **॥**

एतच्छ्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि लिखितं यत् समेषां जीवननिर्वाहहेतौ सर्वसंस्थे जगद्रूपे विशालेऽस्मिन् ब्रह्मचक्रे जीवात्मा भ्रमति, यदा स आत्मानं ब्रह्म च पृथक्त्वेन विजानाति ततो ब्रह्मणा युज्यते तदैवाऽमृतत्वमश्नुते—

सर्वाजीवे सर्वसंस्थे बृहन्ते
अस्मिन् हंसो भ्राम्यते ब्रह्मचक्रे।
पृथगात्मानं प्रेरितारं च मत्वा
जुष्टस्ततस्तेनाऽमृतत्वमेति[११] **॥**

जीवस्य ब्रह्मणा संयोगे जीवो ब्रह्मैव भवति तस्याऽन्यव्यापाराणामप्रवृत्तेस्तथैव नायिका नायकसंयोगेऽपि स्वविस्मृतिमनुभूय नायकत्वं भजते। तद् यथा नायकेनाऽऽश्लिष्टा कामदेवाऽऽक्रान्ताऽपि नायिका तस्मिन् नायके चरमानन्दपरे लीनत्वमुपगता, तस्याः कृत्रिमप्रचण्डवस्तुकरणसङ्केतेषु मनः खिन्नमिव सञ्जातम्। किन्तु सुरतारम्भ एव 'अयं को नायकः', 'अहं का वा चेति नाऽन्तरं ज्ञात्वा साऽद्वैतावस्थां ब्रजति, यतः सा नायिकैव

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८. शृङ्गारशतके श्लोके २३
९. तत्रैव, श्लोके २९
१०. उत्तररामचरिते १/३५
११. श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि १/६

नायकत्वं प्राप्तवती। अपि च द्विवचने शेषतामुपगतौ जायापती वस्तुत एकरूपत्वमेव लभेते—

आश्लिष्टा रभसाद्विलीयत इवाक्रान्ताप्यनङ्गेन या।
यस्याः कृत्रिमचण्डवस्तुकरणाकूतेषु खिन्नं मनः॥
कोऽयं काऽहमिति प्रवृत्तसुरता जानाति या नान्तरम्।
रन्तुः सा रमणी स एव रमणः शेषौ तु जायापती॥[१२]

एषाऽनुकूलरतिर्हर्षं ददात्येव प्रतिकूलरतौ सपत्न्यादिषु दुःखप्रतीतिरुपजायते। यथा जीवस्य ब्रह्मणि रतिः सुखदायिनी स्यादनुकूला, संसारे रतिर्दुःखदायिनी प्रतिकूला भवेत्। एवमनुकूलरत्या नायिकानायकयोर्द्वयोर्भेदाऽभावे त्वात्मानन्दो विलसतितरां न तत्र दुःखस्य कणिकाऽपि वर्तते, यथा—

आनुकूल्ये हर्षधीः स्यात्प्रातिकूल्ये तु दुःखधीः।
द्वयाभावे निजानन्दो निजदुःखं न तु क्वचित्॥[१३]

'मनसि लीना विलीना नु किम्'[१४] तथा 'कोऽयं काऽस्मि रतं नु वा कथमिति स्वल्पाऽपि मे न स्मृतिः'[१५] इत्यादय उक्तयो नायकस्य नायिकायाश्चाऽऽत्मानन्ददशां प्रमाणीकुर्वन्ति।

अद्वैतवेदान्ते 'तत्त्वमसि'[१६] इत्यखण्डवाक्ये ब्रह्मजीवयोर्मायावशाद् भेदत्वादपि परमार्थतो नास्ति कश्चिद् भेदो 'अहं ब्रह्माऽस्मी'[१७] ति प्रतीत्यवगमात्। किञ्च ब्रह्मणि सँल्लीने सति जीवे हर्षशोकादीनां व्यत्ययो भवति, आत्मानन्दश्च स्थिरतां भजते[१८] महाकविना भवभूतिनाऽद्वैतशब्दसमुल्लेखपूर्वकं सीतारामायोः शृङ्गाराद्वैतमित्थं वर्णितम्—

अद्वैतं सुखदुःखयोरनुगुणं सर्वास्ववस्थासु यद्।
विश्रामो हृदयस्य यत्र जरसा यस्मिन्नहार्यो रसः॥
कालेनावरणात्ययात् परिणते यत्प्रेमसारे स्थितम्।
भद्रं तस्य सुमानुषस्य कथमप्येकं हि तत्प्रार्थ्यते॥[१९]

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१२. अमरुकशतके, परिशिष्टे ४, श्लोके १४२
१३. पञ्चदश्याम् १३/७३
१४. अमरुकशतके, श्लोके, ४०
१५. तत्रैव, श्लोके १०१
१६. छान्दोग्योपनिषदि ६/८/७
१७. बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि १/४/१०
१८. निजानन्दे स्थिरे हर्षशोकयोर्व्यत्ययः क्षणात्। (पञ्चदश्याम् १३/७४)
१९. उत्तररामचरिते १/३९

श्रीमद्भागवते तु श्रीकृष्णेन सार्द्धं गोपिकानां सङ्गमः शृङ्गाराद्वैतं सुष्ठुतया पुष्णाति। सच्चिदानन्दघनदिव्यशरीरत्वाद् भगवतो गोपिकानाञ्च तदन्तरङ्गशक्ति-भूतत्वान्मिथो विहरणं ब्रह्मजीवयोरिवाऽद्वैततत्त्वं द्योतयति। 'सर्वधनर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज'[२०] इति भगवद्वाक्यानुसारं गोपिकाः श्रीकृष्णशरणं जग्मुः। एषा प्रपत्तिरपि विशिष्टाद्वैतवादेऽङ्गीकृता ब्रह्मणा सहैक्यं जीवस्य कारयितुं क्षमा मोक्षदा च मन्यते। अत्र जीवो ब्रह्मणि प्राणान् समर्प्य तद्विरहावस्थायामितस्ततस्तदेवाऽन्विष्यन् भ्रमति, एवमेव गोपिका अपि श्रीकृष्णे धृतप्राणास्तमेव कृष्णं सर्वतोऽन्विष्यन्ति स्म। उक्तं **श्रीमद्भागवते—**

दयित दृश्यतां दिक्षु तावका—
स्त्वयि धृतासवस्त्वां विचिन्वते।[२१]

श्रीकृष्णेन सह गोपिकानां संयोगो विप्रलम्भो वा ब्रह्मणो लीलाकैवल्यं भवितुमर्हति। एतल्लीलाकैवल्यं न लौकिकमपितु लोकवद् भवति। लोके विहरणशीला शृङ्गाररसादिचेष्टा चेद् ब्रह्मणः क्रीडास्वरूपिणी जायते तर्हि सा ब्रह्मचेष्टा लीलेत्युच्यते। एतस्यां ब्रह्मलीलायां शृङ्गाराद्वैतं द्रष्टुं शक्यते। सङ्केतोऽस्य ब्रह्मसूत्रे 'लोकवत्तु लीलाकैवल्यम्'[२२] इति सूत्रे निगदितम्। आनन्दमये ब्रह्मणि पूर्णकामभावं विद्यते। यथोक्तं **ब्रह्मसूत्रे**—'कामाच्चनाऽनुमानापेक्षा।[२३] एष कामभाव एव ब्रह्मणः शृङ्गाराद्वैतं पुष्णाति। परन्तु नैष कामभावो लौकिकोऽस्ति पूर्णकामस्याऽलौकिकत्वात्। यत्र पूर्णकामे लौकिककामाः स्वयमेव विलीयन्ते। यथोपनिषद्वाक्यमत्र प्रमाणभूतम् पूर्णकामस्या-ऽलौकिकत्वात्। यत्र पूर्णकामे लौकिककामाः स्वयमेव विलीयन्ते। यथोपनिषद्वाक्यमत्र प्रमाणभूतम्—

पर्याप्तकामस्य कृतात्मनस्त्वि-
हैव सर्वे प्रविलीयन्ति कामाः।[२४]

अत एव लौकिककामावस्थायां शृङ्गारविरहितत्वं भवत्येव 'कामावस्था न शृङ्गारः'[२५] इति भट्टतौतेनोक्तत्वात्। रसस्याऽलौकिकत्वान्न खलु रमणीव्यसनं

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२०. श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायाम् १८/६६
२१. श्रीमद्भागवते दशमस्कन्धे (पूर्वार्द्धे) ३१/१
२२. ब्रह्मसूत्रे २/१/३३
२३. तत्रैव १/१/१८
२४. मुण्डकोपनिषदि ३/२/२
२५. अभिनवभारत्यां, द्वाविंशेऽध्याये, पृ० १९३

शृङ्गारतामुपयाति, तत्र तु शृङ्गारोचितकविकल्पितविभावानुभावव्यभिचारिभावानां समुपस्थितेरेव शृङ्गाररसो निष्पद्यते, यत्रोभयोरैक्यभावप्रतिपादितत्वाच्छृङ्गारा-द्वैतदर्शनबीजमुप्यते। अभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्याणां वचनमत्र प्रमाणभूतम्— **'शृङ्गारोक्त—विभानानुभावव्यभिचारिचर्वणारूपप्रतीतमयो न तु स्त्रीव्यसनीति मन्तव्यम्।**[२६]

ब्रह्मविरहितो जीवः कुसुममिव म्लानत्वं गच्छति—**'प्रियाशोको जीवं कुसुम-मिव धर्मो ग्लपयति॥**[२७]**'** स संसारं शून्यं मन्यते, निरन्तरञ्चाऽन्तः करणे परितप्यते।[२८] एवं जगतो मिथ्यात्वकल्पने विप्रलम्भशृङ्गारालम्बनविभावरूपस्य ब्रह्मणोऽमिथ्यात्वप्रतीतौ म्लानस्य जीवपुष्पस्य विकासः शनैः शनैस्तद्ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारत्वाद् दरीदृश्यते तदा जीवो भूरिशः सन्तृप्यते—

म्लानस्य जीवकुसुमस्य विकासनानि।
सन्तर्पणानि सकलेन्द्रियमोहनानि॥ [२९]।

इति भवभूतिनोक्तेः ब्रह्मणो हेतोरेव यथा जीवस्य बन्धनमोक्षौ स्यातां तथैव शृङ्गाराद्वैत आलम्बनमधिकृत्यैव सम्भोगविप्रलम्भौ भवतः। आलम्बनस्वरूपस्य सम्यक्तयाऽश्लेषचुम्बनादिना ज्ञानात्सम्भोगस्तत्स्वरूपज्ञाने परिक्रियाऽभावाच्च विप्रलम्भश्च भवितुमर्हतः। शङ्कराचार्येण **ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्ये** निगदितं यथा—**'ततो हीश्वरादहेतोरस्य जीवस्य बन्धमोक्षौ भवतः। ईश्वरस्वरूपापरिज्ञानाद् बन्धस्तत्स्वरूपपरिज्ञानात्तु मोक्षः।**[३०]

अपि च **'द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया'**[३१], **'ऋतं पिबन्तौ सुकृतस्य लोके गुहां प्रविष्टौ परमे परार्धे'**[३२] चेत्यत्र भेदप्रतिपादकश्रुतिद्वारा चेदुभयोर्नायिका-नायकयोर्ब्रह्मजीवयोरिव भेदत्वात्कथमद्वैतं वर्तत इत्याशङ्कायां तत्र द्वा सुपर्णेत्यत्र त्वेकस्य भोक्तृत्वं दृश्यते। अत्र नायिकानायकयोर्विप्रलम्भशृङ्गाराद्वैतं भवितुमर्हति भोक्तृत्वा-भावाच्चैकस्य। 'ऋतं पिबन्तौ' इत्यत्रोभयोर्भोक्तृत्वात् सम्भोगशृङ्गाराद्वैतं स्वीकर्तुं शक्यम्। एतदाशयो ब्रह्मसूत्रे शाङ्करभाष्येऽपि प्राप्यते।[३३] जीवो यदा ब्रह्मानन्दरतो बाह्यमान्तरं च न वेद्यान्तरं किमपि वेत्ति, केवलं स ब्रह्मैव विजानाति तथैव नायिकानायकसम्भोगदशायां

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२६. ध्वन्यालोकलोचने, पृ० २७८
२७. उत्तररामचरिते ३/३०
२८. तत्रैव ३/३८
२९. तत्रैव १/३६
३०. शाङ्करभाष्ये (ब्रह्मसूत्रे) ३/२/५
३१. श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि ४/६
३२. कठोपनिषदि १/३/१
३३. शाङ्करभाष्ये (ब्रह्मसूत्रे) ३/३/३४, पृ० ८१३

शृङ्गारसञ्ज्ञायां बाह्यमान्तरं किमपि न ज्ञातुं प्रभूयते रसिकैः। अस्योल्लेखः **पञ्चदश्यामित्थं** प्राप्यते—

कुमारादिवदेवायं ब्रह्मानन्दैकतत्परः।
स्त्रीपरिष्वक्तवद् वेद न बाह्यं नापि चान्तरम्॥[३४]

शृङ्गाराद्वैते चरमावस्थायां तु नायिका सर्वत्रैव दरीदृश्यते यथा **ब्रह्मणः** स्थितिर्मिथ्याभूते जगति सर्वत्रैवाऽनुभूयते ब्रह्मविद्भिः। **रामायणे**[३५] रामो यदा सीतामन्वेष्टुकाम इतस्ततो भ्रमति तदा स सर्वत्रैव सीतामेव पश्यति स्म। कालिदासेन **विक्रमोर्वशीये**[३६] पुरुरवसश्चित्रणं विहितम्, तत्रापि पुरुरवा प्रियामुर्वशीं सर्वतः पश्यति। एतत्तु नायिकाद्वैतं कथ्यते। एवमेवाऽ**मरुकशतके** नायको नायिकां सर्वत्र पश्यति द्वियोरद्वैतसम्बन्धात् **'सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म'**[३७] इति श्रुतेः। यतो हि सा नायिका प्रासादे, पुरस्तात्, पृष्ठे, दिक्षु, पर्यङ्के, मार्गे चाऽखिले संसारे वरीवर्त्ति, इयं खलु चेतः काचिद् ब्रह्मरूपाऽपरा प्रकृतिर्भवितुमर्हति—

प्रासादे सा दिशि दिशि च सा पृष्ठतः सा पुरः सा।
पर्यङ्के सा पथि पथि च सा तद्वियोगातुरस्य॥
हंहो चेतः प्रकृतिरपरा नास्ति मे क्वापि सा सा।
सा सा सा सा जगति सकले कोऽयमद्वैतवादः॥[३८]

श्रीमद्भागवते[३९] गोपिकाभिः श्रीकृष्ण एवं सर्वत्राऽदर्शि तत्र तु **नायकाद्वैतं** भवितुमर्हति। अत्र नायिकानायकाद्वैतयोरुभयोरपि शृङ्गाररसाद्वैतत्वं सहृदयैरनुभूयते। **एषो-ऽद्वैतवाद** एव शृङ्गारद्वैतनाम्नाऽभिधातुं शक्यः। यथा सम्प्रदायविशेषभेदादनेके **वादा** वेदान्तदर्शने प्रचलिता अभवन् तथैवैष शृङ्गाराद्वैतवादोऽपि सहृदयहृदयसंवेद्यः **सुधी-**भिरङ्गीकर्त्तव्यो वेदान्तदर्शने। एवमेव ब्रह्मसूत्रोपरि शृङ्गाराद्वैतसम्मतं भाष्यं चेत् **कश्चित्** प्रणयेत्तर्हि शृङ्गाराद्वैतदर्शनं पूर्णतया प्रतितिष्ठेत्। अत्र त्वद्वैतप्रतिपादनपरैः **श्रुतिवाक्यैः** काव्योपात्तशृङ्गाराद्वैतसमुद्धरणैश्च दर्शनस्याऽस्य दिङ्मात्रनिर्देशो विहित इत्यभ्युपगन्तव्यम्।

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३४. पञ्चदश्याम् ११/५४
३५. रामायणेऽरण्यकाण्डे ६०, ६१, ६२ सर्गेषु।
३६. विक्रमोर्वशीये चतुर्थेऽङ्के।
३७. छान्दोग्योपनिषदि ३/१४/१
३८. अमरुकशतके, श्लोके १०२
३९. श्रीमद्भागवते दशमस्कन्धे (पूर्वार्द्धे) - रासपञ्चाध्याय्याम्।

भारतीयं धर्मशास्त्रं चरित्रनिर्माणञ्च

डॉ० नलिनी शुक्ला

कानपुर

''धृञ्‌धारणे'' धातु-निष्पन्नस्य ''धर्म'' इति शब्दस्यार्थः धारणं' पालनम्, आश्रयदानं वा अस्ति। 'ध्रियते लोकोऽनेन, धरति लोकं' वा 'धरति विश्वम् इति, धरति लोकान्, ध्रियते वा जनैरिति (**अमरकोषे**) च 'धारणाद् धर्ममित्याहुः धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः '(**महाभारते**)' धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः प्रतिष्ठा' तथा 'लोके धर्मिष्ठं' प्रजा उपसर्पन्ति धर्मेण पापमपनुदन्ति, धर्मे सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितं। तस्मात् धर्मं परमं वदन्ति। (**नारायणोपनिषद् द्वाविंशः खण्डः**) विनाशात् अधोगतेश्च त्राणं कृत्वा अभ्युदयस्य (लौकिकोन्नतेः) निःश्रेयसश्च (मोक्षस्य) प्राप्तिरस्ति धर्मस्य लक्ष्यम् यथोक्तं लक्षणावसरे महर्षिकणादेन—

''यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः।' (**वैशेषिकदर्शनम् १/२**)

अतो जीवने अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससाधकं, जगतः धारकं तत्त्वमेव धर्म इति धर्मशास्त्रीया दृष्टिः सिद्ध्यति। स च प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिपरायणत्वात् द्विविधः।

द्वाविमावथ पन्थानौ यत्र वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः।
प्रवृत्तिलक्षणो धर्मो निवृत्तौ च सुभाषितः॥

(महाभारते शान्तिपर्व २३३/६)

भारतीये धर्मशास्त्रे चरित्रनिर्माणस्य पृष्ठभूमिः समग्र-व्यक्तित्व-निर्माणस्यैकां सुनिश्चितां व्यावहारिकीं पद्धतिं प्रस्तौति। परमस्याः पद्धतेः केवलं बाह्यपरिवेशस्य स्थूलशरीरस्य च सीमायां बन्धनमशक्यम्। यतो हि भारतीयधर्मशास्त्रान्तर्गत-मनोविज्ञानानुसारं मृत्युर्नावसानं व्यक्तित्वस्य। केवलं बाह्यं भौतिकस्तरीयम् आधारं संभाव्य व्यक्तित्व-चरित्रनिर्माणमूलकानि सर्वाण्येवान्वेषणानि प्रयत्नानि चैकाङ्गित्वादपूर्णत्वाच्च स्वलक्ष्यप्राप्तौ पूर्णसाफल्यमर्जितुं नैव शक्नुवन्ति। सत्यप्यपूर्णत्वे यत्किञ्चिन्न्यूनतावशात् जीवनस्य समग्रतामभिलक्ष्य (स्थूल-सूक्ष्म-कारणशरीराणां व्यष्टि-समष्टिसम्बन्धवर्तिनीं समग्रतामभिलक्ष्य) अनन्तब्रह्माण्ड-व्यापिनीचेतनायाः प्रकृतेश्चाञ्चल्यवर्तिनाञ्च आवर्तन-प्रत्यावर्तनजन्यप्रभावेषु दृष्टिं निधाय सम्पादितानाम् व्यावहारिकान्वेषणानां सत्प्रयासाः तदपेक्षया प्रभूतसाफल्यं प्राप्तुं शक्नुवन्ति।

सुदृढचरित्रनिर्माणार्थं सशक्त-समष्टि-संवेदना-ग्राहिण: संकलित-व्यक्तित्वस्य पृष्ठभूमिरनिवार्या। खण्डित: दुर्बलव्यक्तित्वसम्पन्नो व्यक्ति: न तादृशीं समाजोपयोगिनीं चारित्रिकदृढतां धारयति राष्ट्रनिर्माणाय यस्या: सार्वकालिकी आवश्यकता वर्तते।

धर्मशास्त्रे षोडशसंस्काराणां विधौ भारतीयमनीषिभि: सुदृढचरित्रनिर्माणार्थं मानवीयानुभवस्य व्यवहारस्य च दिशानिर्धारणाय बाह्याभ्यंतरपक्षद्वयतलावगाहिनी सरणि: स्वीकृता।' संस्कारविषयिणी सूक्तिरियं सुप्रसिद्धा—

'संस्कारोल्लिखितो महामणिसमो देदीप्यते मानव:' अत उक्तं मनुना

वैदिकै: कर्मभि: पुण्यैर्निषेकादिर्द्विजन्मनाम्।
कार्य: शारीरसंस्कार: पावन: प्रेत्य चेह च॥

(मनु० २/२६)

अस्माकम् ऋषीणां दृष्टि: मानवस्य वैयक्तिकीं सामाजिकीं चोभयविधामेवोन्नतिं केन्द्रीकृत्य जीवनस्य समग्रताप्राप्त्यर्थमेव यत्नशीला दृश्यते। लक्ष्यमिमं प्राप्तुं सुखदु:-खादिभौतिक-द्वन्द्वानां सहनशीलता अनिवार्या। प्राचीन-ऋषिभि: जीवनमेकमतिमहत्त्वा-वहसमस्यामिव मत्त्वा तत्समाधानार्थं सर्वोत्कृष्टविचारै: योजना निर्मिताऽऽसीत्। यद्वशात् भारतीय: चतुरशीतिसंख्याक-योनिचक्र-भ्रमणमनिच्छन् भीषणदुरवस्थामपि संप्राप्य आत्मघाताय नैवाचिन्तयत्। यतो हि वर्तमानजीवनस्य दु:खात् त्राणार्थमात्मघातस्य कर्त्ता परवर्तिकाले ततोऽप्यधिकभयावहां दु:खावस्थां प्राप्नोति। यथोक्तं यजुर्वेदे 'असुर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसा वृता:। तांस्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महतो जना: (**यजुर्वेद**-४०-३)। अतोऽस्माकम् ऋषिभि: जीवनस्योदात्त: आदर्श: संस्थापित:, तच्चासीत्—'यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मन्येवानुपश्यति। सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विचिकित्सति। स्वमेव स्वस्मिन् द्रष्टारस्तु बहुसंख्यैका: वर्तन्ते, परम् आत्मभावानुभवकर्त्तारो विरला एव वैदिका-दर्शधारिण:। उक्तमादर्शं क्रियात्मकरूपेण जीवने संस्थापनार्थं ऋषीणां सुस्पष्ट-चिन्तितमासीत्। प्रारम्भात् चरमावस्थापन्नस्यात्मविकासस्य दृष्टिमभिलक्ष्यैव मनीषिभि: ब्रह्मचर्याद्याश्रमचतुष्टयस्य व्यवस्थायां जीवनं निबद्धमासीत्। ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम: समाप्य गृही भवेत्, गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेत्, वनीभूत्वा प्रव्रजेत्। गृहस्थाश्रमे स्वभावे स्वपरिवारमपि पश्यन् आत्मविस्तारं करोति। पितरौ नानाकष्टान् प्रसह्यापि स्वीयसंततीनां परिपोषे एव सुखमनुभवत:। अनया दृशा गृहस्थे त्यागस्य पराकाष्ठा परिदृश्यते।

परं गृहस्थ एव न वैदिकादर्शस्य चरमावस्था। तत्तु 'सर्वभूतहितेरत:' इत्यादर्शस्य क्रमिके विकासे सोपानमात्रमेवैकम्। गृहाश्रमे ममत्वादिनिबद्धो गृही सीमिते परिवेशे एव स्वात्मविकासं कर्त्तुं शक्नोति। तत्सीमामतिक्रम्य परिवारादितरेष्वपि आत्मभावविकासार्थं वानप्रस्थामावश्यकम्। गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेत् अस्मिन्नाश्रमे सर्वभूतहितेरता: इत्याचारस्य

परिपक्वताप्राप्तिरनन्तरं संन्यासे संन्यासी सर्वत्र आत्मभासमेव पश्यन् अहं ब्रह्मास्मीत्यनुभवति।

षोडशसंस्काराणां माध्यमेन भाविशिशोः बीजारोपणस्य पूर्वपीठिकारूपेण ब्रह्मचर्यपालनपूर्वकं वर्षावधिं यावत् पितृभ्यां सशक्तवेगान्वितविचाराणां समुपार्जितोर्जया रजोवीर्यशोधनं कृत्वा सच्चारित्र्यसम्पन्नतेजस्वीशिशोः आधार-शिलानिर्मीयते। तत्पश्चात् गर्भाधान-सीमन्तोन्नयनसंस्कारयोः माध्यमेन गर्भस्थशिशोः पूर्वजन्मवर्तिनां संस्काराणां यथेष्टदिशानिर्धारणाय समुद्योगः क्रियते। जन्मनः परवर्ति-संस्कारैः सबलशारीरिक-विकासस्य सार्धमेव शिशोः समुचित-मानसिकविकासानुकूलं वातावरणं प्रदीयते। येन वंशानुगतानां (due to heredity) पर्यावरणवर्तिनां चोभयविधदोषमार्जनपूर्वकं शिशोः समग्रविकासमार्गः प्रशस्तो भवति।

भौतिकविज्ञानोन्नति-मात्रैकनिष्ठे वर्तमानयुगे उत्तरोत्तरं प्रवर्धमान-विकृतमानसिकताजन्यकेन्द्रीकरणस्य च्युतिभिः सामाजिकपरिवेशे विश्वपर्यावरणे च भयावहो विध्वंसः सर्वत्रैव परिलक्ष्यते। नित्यप्रतिप्रवर्धमानजलवायुध्वन्यादिनाना-प्रदूषणानांसार्थं जनानां चेतनमनांसि निरन्तरं चिन्तावसादग्रस्तानि दृश्यन्ते। अचेतमनसश्च-वशेषीसंस्काराः तदनुकूलमेव समुद्दीप्ता जायन्ते। अचेतनमनसश्च सामूहिकाधारवशात् तेन सर्वत्र कुण्ठायाः अवसादस्य, हिंसायाः, मनोरोगस्य, अपराधस्य, आतंकवादस्य च संक्रामकरोगस्य च विवृद्धिः मानवतां दूषयति। यतो हि समस्तप्रदूषणानां मूलं मानसप्रदूषणमेवास्ति, अतो विकृता मानसिकता पर्यावरणम् अतितरां प्रदूषयति। एवं व्यक्तीनां, समाजस्य पर्यावरणस्य च अभिक्रियाणां गतिः मानवीयमूल्यार्थं जटिलसमस्यारूपं धारयति।

व्यक्तिः, समाजः पर्यावरणं (परिवेशः) च सर्व एवं परस्परम् आश्रिताः सन्ति। तेषामनिवार्यं सम्बन्धं निध्याय मानवमनसश्च विभिन्नस्तराणां जटिलतां सूक्ष्मतां च सुविचार्य अतिचेतनमनसोऽवरुद्धप्रवाहस्य च पुनरुद्घाटने एवं अस्माभिरभीष्टा विश्वमंगलप्रदा दिशा प्राप्तव्या। अचेतनमानसस्येव चेतन-मानसिकस्तरोऽपि सामूहिको भवत्येव। फलतः समष्टिचेतनागामिनी—वैचारिकी-क्रान्तिरेव समाजस्य राष्ट्रस्य चोन्नयनाय कल्पते।

धर्मशास्त्रस्य उद्देश्यमेव जीवनव्यापिन्याः चेतनायाः परिष्करणमस्ति। यया समस्त-प्राणिनां प्रति मनसा, वाचा, कर्मणा सौमनस्यसौहार्द्रक्षमादिकानामुत्कृष्टमान-वीयमूल्यानां तन्निष्ठभावसंवेदनायाश्च जागरणं संभवति। तदेव च त्यागमूला-भारतीयसंस्कृतेः उपजीव्यम् सनातनो धर्मश्च। यथोक्तं **महाभारते :—**

अद्रोहं सर्वभूतेषु कर्मणा मनसा गिरा।
अनुग्रहश्च दानं च सतां धर्मः सनातनः॥

(महा० शान्ति १६२/२१)

मनुप्रोक्तानि दशविधानि धर्मलक्षणानि विश्वप्रसिद्धानि सन्ति। मानवतायाः विश्वबन्धुत्वस्य विश्वशान्तेश्च संरक्षणार्थं च तेषां देशकालातीतं शाश्वतिकं महत्त्वं नात्र संशयलेशः। तानि च—

धृतिः क्षमा दमोऽस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः।
धीर्विद्यासत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्मलक्षणम्॥

(मनु० ६/९२)

अन्यत्र धर्मस्य चतुर्विधं लक्षणं निरूपयन् मनुः कथयति—

वेदः श्रुतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः।
एतच्चुर्विधं प्राहुः साक्षाद् धर्मस्य लक्षणम्॥

यदाचरणं वेदशास्त्रानुमतं सदाचारमूलकं हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातत्वाद् आत्म-संतोषजनकं तदेव कर्तव्यम्। परं श्रुत्यनुकूलता सर्वप्रमाणानां मूलाधारः। यथोक्तमपि याज्ञवल्क्येन—

श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः।
सम्यक् संकल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम्॥

(याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति १/७)

सामान्यधर्मस्य निरूपणावसरे महर्षियाज्ञवल्क्येन लिखितम्—

अहिंसासत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः।
दानं दमो दया क्षान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम्॥

(याज्ञ० आचाराध्याये १२२)

योगीश्वरेण याज्ञवल्क्येन स्वस्मृतेः प्रारम्भ एव सर्वत्र आत्मबुद्धिम् आत्मदर्शनं वा परमधर्मत्वेन स्वीकृत्य योगज्ञानं तस्य प्रमुखोपाय इत्युक्तम्—

अयं तु परमो धर्मो यद्योगेनात्मदर्शनम्॥'

(याज्ञ० आचार० ८)

उक्तविधस्य व्यक्तित्व-सम्पन्नचरित्रस्य निर्माणार्थं भारतीये धर्मशास्त्रे निर्दिष्टा षोडशसंस्काराणां वैज्ञानिकी विधिः सुपरीक्षितैका अमोघा औषधिरस्ति। सर्वमेव ज्ञानं वेदमूलमतो धर्मस्य मूलमपि वेदा एवं यथोक्तमपि मनुना—

'धर्मजिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः।' (मनु० २/१३) तथा 'वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलम्' (मनुस्मृतिः)

शास्त्रेषु संस्काराः अष्टचत्वारिंशत् (४८) संख्यका उद्दिष्टाः। ते च द्विवर्गयोः विभक्ताः। ब्राह्मो देवश्च। यथोक्तं हारीतेन—'द्विविधो हि संस्कारो ब्राह्मो दैवश्च। गर्भाधानादि स्मार्तो ब्रह्मः। पाकयज्ञहविर्यज्ञ सौम्याश्च दैवः। ब्राह्मेण संस्कारेण ऋषीणां समानतां सलोकतां सायुज्यतां वा गच्छति इति। गर्भाधानादि १६ स्मार्त संस्कार एव अस्मिन्प्रपत्रे मुख्यरूपेण संग्रहीताः। येषां विषये मनुना प्रोक्तम्—

'**महायज्ञैश्य**[१] यज्ञैश्च ब्राह्मीयं क्रियते तनुः' (मनु० २/२८)

पाकयज्ञादयः एकविंशतिसंस्काराः देवसदृशगुणाधायकाः देवत्वप्रापकाः वा सन्ति।

धर्मशास्त्रस्य इतिहासे स्मृतयः सर्वातिशायिताम् आवहन्ति। मानवीय-व्यक्तित्वस्य ऊर्ध्वगामिचरित्रनिर्माणार्थं स्मृतिग्रन्थेषु वर्णितसंस्काराणाम् संख्याविषये मतान्तरोऽपि परिलक्ष्यते, परं तेषां महत्व-विषये सर्वाः स्मृतयः मतैक्यमेव भजन्ति। **व्यासस्मृतौ मनुस्मृतौ** च वर्णिताः चतुर्दश-षोडशसंस्काराः सर्वाधिकमहत्वपूर्णाः सन्ति। गर्भाधानं, पुंसवनं, सीमन्तोन्नयनं, जातकर्म, नामकरणं, निष्क्रमणः, अन्नप्राशनं चूडाकर्म, कर्णवेधः, उपनयनं, वेदारम्भः समावर्तनं, विवाहः, वानप्रस्थः, विवाहाग्निपरिग्रहः वानप्रस्थं च एते संस्काराः **व्याससस्मृतौ** वर्णिताः।

मनुश्च चतुर्दशानेव संस्कारान् वर्णयति। मनुस्मृतौ पुंसवनस्य सीमन्तोन्नयनस्य कर्णवेधस्य च पृथक् चर्चा नास्ति। व्यासेन अन्त्येष्टिः न वर्णिता एवमत्राल्पं

मतान्तरं लक्ष्यते। व्याससस्मृत्यनुसारं तदैवं—

गर्भाधानं पुंसवनं सीमन्तो जातकर्म च।
नामक्रिया निष्क्रमणोऽन्नाशनं वपनक्रिया।
कर्णवेधो व्रतादेशो वेदारम्भक्रियाविधिः।

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१. 'गृहस्थाश्रमे' नित्यकर्मसु पञ्चमहायज्ञाः आवश्यककर्त्तव्याः ते च सन्ति ब्रह्मयज्ञः (वेदानामध्ययनम् अध्यापनम् च) पितृयज्ञः (पिण्डदानं श्राद्धं, तर्पणं च) देवयज्ञः भूतयज्ञः नृपयज्ञश्च—

अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम्।
होमो देवो बलिर्भौतो नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम्॥ (मनु० ३/१०)
तथा याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति १/१०२

केशान्तः स्नानमुद्वाहो विवाहाग्निपरिग्रहः।
त्रेताग्निसंग्रहश्चेति संस्काराः षोडशाः स्मृताः॥

(व्यासस्मृतिः १/१३-१५)

गृह्यसूत्रेषु एकादशात् त्रयोदशसंख्याकं यावत् संस्काराः विहिताः। ते सर्व एव स्मृतिग्रन्थेष्वपि स्वीकृताः। गृह्यसूत्रग्रन्थेषु वानप्रस्थस्य संन्यासस्य चोल्लेखो नास्ति। **ऋग्वेदीये आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रे अथर्ववेदीये कौशिकसूत्रे** च अन्त्येष्टि-संस्कारस्य वर्णनम् वर्तते। तदतिरिक्तेषु गृह्यसूत्रेषु अन्त्येष्टिसंस्कारस्य क्वापि नोल्लेखः। कौषीतकि—(शांखायन) गृह्यसूत्रे 'गर्भरक्षणनामको संस्कारः प्राप्यते यस्य विधानं पुंसवनस्य पश्चात् चतुर्थे मासे विहितम्। **पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे**आचार्य पारस्करः कर्णवेधसंस्कारं मुख्यं मत्त्वा भद्रं कर्णेभिरित्यादि' (**यजुर्वेद** २५/२) मंत्रं मूलं स्वीकृत्य 'कर्णवेधविधानं वर्णयति। गृह्यसूत्रग्रंथेषु गृहस्थानामेवकर्तव्यवर्णनवशात् वानप्रस्थसन्यासयोः वर्णनं नास्ति।

स्मृतिग्रंथेषु **मनुस्मृतिः व्यासमृतिश्च** सर्वाधिकमहत्त्ववत्यौ इति धर्मशास्त्रिणां मतम्। अतोऽस्मिन् प्रपत्रे **मनुस्मृतौ, व्यासस्मृतौ** च वर्णितानां संस्काराणामेव संक्षिप्तं विवचेनं प्रस्तूयते। '**मनुस्मृतिः स्मृतिग्रन्थेषु सर्वाधिकं महत्त्वमावहति।**

मनुस्मृतिसम्बन्धे शास्त्राकाराणां मतमस्ति।

मनुस्मृति-विरुद्धा या सा स्मृतिर्न प्रशस्यते।

वेदार्थोपनिबद्धत्वात् प्राधान्यं हि मनोः स्मृतः॥

(अन्वर्थमुक्तावली-टीका १/१)

वैज्ञानिकदृशा प्रवृत्ति-निवृत्तिपराणां षोडशस्मार्तसंस्काराणां पंचविधिवर्गेषु विभागः कर्त्तुं शक्यते—

१. प्राग्जन्मसंस्काराः
२. शैशवसंस्काराः
३. शैक्षणिकसंस्काराः
४. गृहस्थसम्बद्धसंस्काराः
५. निवृत्तिपरायणसंस्काराः

एभिः संस्कारैः त्रिविधैः संशोधनैः सच्चारित्र्यनिष्ठं व्यक्तित्वं निर्मीयते—(१) दोषमार्जनं (२) अतिशयाधानं (३) हीनाङ्गपूर्तिश्च। यथोक्तम्—आत्माशरीरान्यतरनिष्ठो हीनाङ्गपूरको दोषमार्जकरोऽतिशयाधायकश्च विहितक्रिया-जन्योऽतिशय-विशेष एव 'संस्कार' इत्युच्यते।

स्वाभाविकरूपेणोत्पन्नं प्राकृतिकपदार्थे विद्यमान-दोषस्य निराकरणं दोषमार्जनं संस्कारो भवति। पुनश्च तत्पदार्थे व्यावहारिकोपयोगितासमुत्पत्यर्थं वैशिष्ट्योत्पादनम् अतिशयाधानम्। तदनन्तरमपि यदि कश्चिद्दोषोऽवशिष्यते तस्य निराकरणार्थं कस्य-चिदन्यस्य पदार्थस्य सम्मिश्रम् हीनाङ्गपूर्ति-संस्कारः।

यथा स्वोपत्तिस्थानेभ्यो निर्गतमात्रेषु लौहादिधातुषु विद्यमान-दोषाणां शिल्पशालायां (फैक्ट्री) सर्वप्रथमं शोधनं क्रियते। ततश्च क्षुरिकादियथायोग्यव्यवहार्ये पदार्थे आकृतिः दीपते। तत्पश्चात् मुष्टिका (मूँठ)-दि संयोजनेन हीनांगपूर्तिर्विधीयते तथैव मानवोऽपि उत्पत्तिकाले दोषदूषितो भवति तेषां (दोषाणां) निराकरणार्थं परिमार्जनार्थं वा षोडशसंस्काराणां विधानं नितान्तं वैज्ञानिकं मनोवैज्ञानिकं चास्ति।

विलुप्तप्रायसंस्कारत्वेऽपि वर्तमानयुगे ये केचन संस्काराः यत्र कुत्र प्रचलिताऽपि सन्ति तत्र प्राचीन-वैज्ञानिक संस्कारविधि-स्थाने प्रायेण आडम्बरा एव दृश्यन्ते।

१. प्राग्जन्मसंस्कारा : (गर्भाधानं, पुंसवनं सीमन्तोन्नयनं च)

प्राग्जन्मसंस्कारेषु सर्वप्रथमं गर्भाधानात् पूर्वमेव दीर्घकालपर्यन्तं संयमनियमव्रत-ब्रह्मचर्य-यज्ञानुष्ठानादिपूर्वकं पितरौ स्वसंस्कारान् सात्विकान् सशक्तान् च कुरुतः स्म। यतो हि गर्भाधानकाले तेषां विचारानुरूपमेव सूक्ष्मशरीरस्याकर्षणं भविष्यतीति तेषां दृष्टिरासीत्। अपि च मातापित्रोः रजोवीर्य-संस्कार-निर्मिते भाविशिशौ तयोः सद्विचारैः कुसंस्कारसंशोधनमपि संभविष्यति।

स्वसंस्कारान् एवं विशुद्धीकृत्य उत्तमचरित्रगुणसम्पन्नसन्तानेच्छया यज्ञभावेन मंत्रोच्चारणभगवत्स्मरणपूर्वकं पवित्रे वातावरणे पत्या पत्न्यां बीजस्थापनं गर्भाधानमुच्यते[२] गर्भाधानस्य अनन्तरमपि गर्भस्थशिशुमातुः सम्पूर्णे गर्भकाले सद्विचारभृते आनन्दमये वातावरणे निवासो विहितः। गर्भस्थःशिशुः स्वीयं सम्पूर्णमेवाहारविहारयोः प्राप्तिं मातुः माध्यमेनैव करोति। अतः तदवस्थायां मातुर्भोजनस्य, पठनपाठनयोः, श्रवणमननयोश्च चिन्तनस्य, दृश्यावलोकनस्य मनोदशायाश्च दृढतरसंस्काराः गर्भस्थशिशौ जायन्ते।

पुंसवन-संस्कारस्य सीमन्तोन्नयनस्य च मुख्यं लक्ष्यं मातुः भाविशिशोःसंरक्षणे समुचित-शारीरिक-मानसिक-विकासे ध्यानाकर्षणमस्ति। शारीरिक-विकासार्थं पुंसवन-संस्कारे गर्भिण्याः दक्षिणनासापुटे औषधीनां रसनिषेचनम् औषधिसेवनमपि विहितमस्ति संस्कारोऽयं गर्भस्थितेः द्वितीयं तृतीये वा मासे क्रियते।[३] सीमन्तोन्नयनसंस्कारः प्रथमे

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२. बोधायनगृह्यसूत्रे १४/६.१ पारस्करगृहसूत्रे १/१३ मनु० २/२६, व्याससमृति १-१३

३. पारस्करगृहसूत्रे १-१४, व्याससमृतिः १-१३

गर्भेमासे षष्ठेऽष्टमे वा विहितम्।[४] अस्योद्देशो शिशोः समुचितः मनोवैज्ञानिको विकासः। शास्त्रीयविधिविधानेन-पूजनेऽस्मिन् संस्कारे गर्भिण्याः सम्मुखे वीणावादनस्य गायनस्यापि विधानं क्रियते। येन मंत्रादिना सार्धमेव संगीतेन अनुकूल-मनोवैज्ञानिक-प्रभावोत्पादनमपि लक्ष्यम्।

मनुस्मृतौ पुंसवनस्य सीमन्तोन्नमयस्य च पृथक् चर्चा न विद्यते। संभवतः गार्भैर्होमैः[५] इत्यादि। श्लोके गर्भावस्थासम्बद्ध-संस्कार-त्रयाणामभिप्रायो भवेत्।

२. शैशवीयसंस्कारा: (जातकर्म, मेधाजननं, नामकरणं, निष्क्रमणं, अन्नप्राशनं चूडाकरणं, कर्णवेधश्च)

धर्मोत्तरपुराणे सूतिकागृहनिर्माणं वास्तुकलाविद्भिः करणीयमिति विधानं वर्तते। मन्वनुसारं नाभिच्छेदनात् (नाल काटना) पूर्वमेव जातकर्म पित्रा क्रियते। अस्मिन् पित्रा स्वयं वेदमंत्रोच्चारपूर्वकं सुवर्णांशमधुघृतानां शिशुं प्राशनं कारयति।

प्राङ्नाभिवर्धनात् पुंसो जातकर्म विधीयते।
मन्त्रवत् प्राशनं चास्य हिरण्यमधुसर्पिषाम्॥

(मनु० २/२९)

अनेन जातमात्र-शिशोः शरीरस्य कोमलाङ्गानां संपोषो भवति। पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे जातकर्मणि पित्रा नान्दीमुखश्राद्धस्य विधानमस्ति। मधुघृतादिप्राशनकाले एवात्र मेधाजननसंस्कारस्यापि विधानम्। संस्कारेऽस्मिन् स्वर्णशलाकया शिशोः जिह्वायां सृष्टिमूलं बीजं 'ॐ' लिखित्वा 'ॐ भूः' ॐ भुवः, ॐ स्वः' इति महाव्याहृतीनाम् उच्चारणपूर्वकम् एव पिता तं मधुघृतादिकं प्राशयति। 'वेदोऽसि' इति कथयति च। प्राशनेन शिशोः कण्ठे विद्यमान-श्लेष्मापित्तादि-निवृत्तिर्जायते। इदं आयुष्यप्रतीकमप्यस्ति। 'संस्कारनृसिंहे' जातकर्मणि एव जातकजन्मात् षष्ठेऽहनि क्रियमाणायाः षष्ठीदेव्याः पूजनविधिरपि वर्णिता।[६]

अशुचिनिवारणे सति यज्ञपूर्वकं शुभे नक्षत्रे नामकरणसंस्कारः जन्मतः दशमे द्वादशे वाऽहनि क्रियते। अथवा अन्यस्मिन्नपि काले शुभमुहूर्तमवीक्ष्य तस्य विधानमस्ति। कीदृशं नामकरणं करणीयम् अस्मिन् विषये मनुः सविस्तारं वर्णयति[७] पारस्करः

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४. पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे १-१५ 'सीमन्तश्चाष्टमे मासे'

५. मनुस्मृति २-२६

६. **संस्कारप्रकाशे**—भवानीशंकर त्रिवेदी पृ० १९४-२००

'. **मनुस्मृतिः** १२/३०-३३

एकवर्षपर्यन्तं नामकरणविधानस्य व्यवस्थां ददाति।[८]

अभीष्टगुणाभिवर्धकनाम्ना संबोधनं प्राप्य समष्टिजगतः शाब्दविद्युत्-शक्तिमवाप्य आजीवनं ऊर्जान्वितो भवति। नामकरणसमये क्रियमाणे यज्ञे स्विष्टकृतमंत्रेण व्याहृतिचतुष्टयेन प्रदत्ताहुतीनामपि आत्मविकासे महद्योगदानम्। संस्कारस्यान्ते शिशोः नासिकारन्ध्रयोः निर्गतवायुस्पर्शेण शिरसः आघ्राणनेनापि स्पर्शकर्तुः मंगलान्विता दिव्यभावना अबोधे शिशौ संक्रमिता सती भाविविकासस्य पृष्ठभूमिनिर्माणं करोति। जन्मनः चतुर्थे मासे।[९] यज्ञादिपूर्वकं यदा प्रथमवारं गृहात् बहिर्निस्सारणकार्यं क्रियते स निष्क्रमणसंस्कारः कथ्यते। दिवसे शिशोः सूर्यदर्शनं, रात्रौ चन्द्रदर्शनं कारयित्वा, निष्क्रमणे संस्कारे सम्पूर्णसृष्टेः प्राणस्रोतस्विनीविभूतिद्वयेन साक्षात्कारो विधीयते। अनेन कृत्रिमतया आवृतात् वातावरणान्निर्गत्य शिशुः शुद्रवायुमण्डले सूर्यातपचन्द्रिका-नामूर्जाग्रहणस्य अभ्यासं प्रारभते।

अन्नप्राशनं षष्ठे मासे कर्तव्यम् अथवा यथेष्टकुलरीत्यानुसारमपि—

षष्ठेन्नप्राशनं मासि यद्वेष्टं मंगले कुले (मनु० २/३४)

यज्ञे, ओदनघृतमधूनां पुष्टिकामन्त्रे त्वायुषीकरणपूर्वकं। संस्कारेऽस्मिन् शिशवे षड्रसान्वितं भोजनं दीयते अतोऽस्य पदार्थविज्ञानसम्मतः आधारोऽस्ति। अस्मिन् काले शिशोर्मुखे दन्तनिःस्सरणक्रिया प्रवर्तते। अतः भोजनदानक्रियायाः पदार्थविज्ञानदृशा शरीरशास्त्रीयदृशाऽप्यस्य महत्त्वं वर्तते। अन्नप्राशनस्य अवसरे यज्ञे शिशोः परितः पुस्तकादिवस्तु-स्थापनस्यापि वर्णनम् प्राप्यते **(पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र १/१९)**

चूडाकरणसंस्कारे (मुण्डने) श्रौतविध्यनुसारं सर्वप्रथमं शिशोःकेशानां कर्त्तनं क्रियते। संस्कारोऽयं प्रथमे तृतीयं वाब्दे कर्त्तव्यम्—

चूडाकर्मद्विजातीनां सर्वेषामेव धर्मतः।
प्रथमेऽब्दे तृतीये वा कर्त्तव्यं श्रुतिचोदनात्॥

(मनु० २/३५)

'तृतीयेऽब्दे चौलम्' (आश्व० गृह्यसूत्र १/२७) वैज्ञानिकदृशा तृतीयेऽब्दे एव संस्कारोऽयं करणीयः। तृतीय-वर्षपर्यन्तं कपालास्थयः दृढत्वेन संयुक्ता भवन्ति। अतः

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८. **पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे १/१७**

९. **पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे १/१७**
तथा च
मनु० २/३४ 'चतुर्थे मासि कर्तव्यं शिशोर्निष्क्रमणं गृहात्।'

गर्भावस्थाकालिकानां केशानामपनयनं तृतीयेऽब्दे श्रेयस्करम्। अस्माकम् शरीरावयवेषु विशिष्टा शरीराग्नि:निरन्तरं परिभ्रमति, येन अंगप्रत्यंगानां शोधनो निरन्तरं भवति। प्रवर्धितनखकेशादिभि: अस्य सम्यक् व्याप्ति: अवरुद्धयति। फलत: एषां सम्बद्धाङ्गेभ्यो निवारणमावश्यकम्। शिशो: मस्तिष्कविकाससम्बद्धो मुण्डनसंस्कार:। यत्र समस्तानां ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणां कर्मेन्द्रियाणां च केन्द्राणि सन्ति। मलिनकेशनिवारणं शिरस: कण्ड्वादिभ्य: संरक्षणं, उष्णतानुभूतिशीर्षवेदनादितो रक्षा, पुष्टतरनव्यकेशोत्पत्ति: एवमादिनानाविधलाभा: संस्कारस्यास्य। अनेन दीर्घायुरपि प्राप्यते। यथोक्तं **पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे**—

'तेन ते वपामि ब्रह्मणा जीवातवे जीवनाय' (**पारस्कर गृह्यसूत्रे** २/१)
आयुर्वेदशास्त्रे मुण्डनेन तालुरक्षणं भवति इति निर्दिष्टं यं विना मस्तिष्को दुर्बलो जायते।

(**सुश्रुतचिकित्सास्थाने** अ० २४, सू० ७२)

कात्यायनगृह्यसूत्रानुसारं 'कर्णवेधो' वर्षे तृतीये पंचमे वा कर्त्तव्यम्। मनुप्रोक्तसंस्कारेषु यद्यपि कर्णवेधस्य चर्चा नास्ति **व्याससमृतौ** अयं संस्कारो विहित:। अस्मिन् संस्कारे शंखस्योपरि (कनपटी से ऊपरी भाग) सन्धिं परित्यज्य कर्णस्य नाडिकाच्छेदनं विहितम्। अनेन अन्त्रवृद्धिरोगो निवार्यते।

कर्णोपरि च कर्णान्ते त्यक्तत्वा यत्नेन सेवनीम्।
व्यत्यासात् वा शिरो विध्येत् अन्त्रवृद्धिनिवृत्तये ॥

(**सुश्रुत चिकित्सास्थाने** अ० १९, २१)

कर्णवेधस्य उदररोगाणां निराकरणेऽपि महत्त्वमत्र वर्णितम्। अस्य चिकित्साशास्त्रीयमहत्त्वात् कश्यपेन कर्णवेधनं चिकित्सकेनैव कार्यमिति निर्दिष्टम्।

अस्माकं ऋषिभि: जातकर्मत: उपनयनपर्यन्तं सर्वेषां संस्काराणां सम्पादनं सप्तवर्षेष्वेव निर्धारणं तेषां सूक्ष्ममनोवैज्ञानिकदृष्टिं प्रमाणयति। समुचितदिशादायि-संस्काराधानस्य मानवीयप्रकृति-निर्माणस्य च इयमेव समुचितावस्था। एकतस्तु कोमलमस्तिष्कयुतायाम् अस्यामवस्थायां शीघ्रतरं, गहनतरं संस्काराधानं संभवति। अपरतश्च परिवर्तिनि काले व्यक्तो सामाजिकपरिवेषावशांत् यदि कुसंस्कारोत्पत्तिर्भवेत् तद्दशायां प्रारम्भिकजीवने सुसंचितसत्संस्कारवशात् न सा चिरस्थायित्वं लभिष्यति।

शैक्षणिक-संस्कारा:—(उपनयनं यज्ञोपवीतं) वेदारम्भ:, केशान्त: समावर्तनं च)—

उपनयनस्यार्थोऽस्ति शिक्षणार्थे पित्रो: विद्यार्थिन: गुरो: समीपे नयनम्। आचार्यस्य उपसमीपे नयनम् 'उपनयन' शब्देनोच्यते। उपनयनस्य विधिना आचार्य-समीपनयनम् अग्निसमीपनयनम्, सावित्रीवाचनं वा अन्यदङ्गमिति **स्मृत्यर्थसारे।**

(**पारस्करसूत्रे, गदाधरव्याख्यायां, साभारं संस्कारप्रकाशादुद्धृतम्**)

संस्कारोऽयं शिक्षारम्भस्य प्रवेशद्वार इव अतीव महत्त्वावहः। व्यासः इमं व्रतारम्भाशब्देन सूचयति (व्यासस्मृति १/१४)

गृह्यसूत्रेषु उपनयनस्य समयः ब्राह्मणानां कृते अष्टमाब्दे, क्षत्रियाणाम् एकादशे वैश्यानां द्वादशेब्दे निर्धारितः—(पारस्कर० सू० २/२) मनुश्च तत्पूर्वमेव कालनिर्णयं ददाति। (मनु० २/३१)

मातापितरौ स्वबुद्ध्यनुसारं सामर्थ्यानुसारमेव च स्वसंततिं भौतिकं जीवनं दत्त्वा सुसंस्कृतं कुरुतः। उपनयनं पित्रोः व्यक्तित्वनिर्माणविज्ञाननिष्णातविशेषज्ञानां हस्तयोः स्वसन्ततेः समर्पणस्य घोषणाऽस्ति।

उपनयने बालके (बालिकायां वा)[१०] द्विजत्वमुपजायते। गुरुःस्वशिष्यं सांस्कारिकं जन्म ददाति अत उक्तं **मनुस्मृतौ**—

'जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्कारात् द्विज उच्यते'

सुदीर्घ-कर्मकाण्डान्वितसंस्कारविधानानन्तरं यज्ञोपवीतधारणमस्य संस्कारस्य प्रमुखं कार्यम्। तच्च पवित्रं बलतेजोवर्धकमायुष्करं भवति।

यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्रं, प्रजापतेर्यत्सहजं पुरस्तात्।
आयुष्यमग्र्यं प्रतिमुञ्च शुभ्रं यज्ञोपवीतं बलमस्तु तेजः ॥

(पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे २, २, ११)

'उपवीतं' यज्ञोपवीतं ब्रह्मसूत्रं च एते सर्वे पर्यायवाचकाः। मौञ्जीबन्धनमपि अस्येव संस्कारस्य अपरं नाम।

उपनयनसंस्कारे गुरुः स्वशिष्यस्य समुचितनिर्माणार्थम् उत्तरदायित्वं स्वीकृत्य तं प्रति कथयतिः—

मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि मम चित्तम् अनु चित्तं ते अस्तु।
मम वाचम् एकमना जुषस्व बृहस्पतिष्ट्वा नियुनक्तु मह्यम्॥

(आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रे १, २१, ७)

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१०. प्राचीनकाले कन्यानां यज्ञोपवीताधिकार आसीत् द्र० **गोभिलीय गृह्यसूत्रे** २, १, १९-२१
अपि च द्रष्टव्यम्—
पुराकल्पे हि नारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते।
अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्रीवाचनं तथा॥
तथैव
द्विविधा स्त्रियो ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सद्योवध्वश्च (मध्वाचार्य) **(संस्कारचन्द्रिकायां पृ० २५६)**

गुरुः व्रतपूर्वकं स्वशिष्यं समाश्वासयति यत् ते हृदयमहं स्वहृदये गृह्णामि, तव चित्तं स्वचित्ते गृह्णामि। उपनयनात् गुरुशिष्यौ परस्परमेवं सन्निकटतां प्राप्नुतः यत्तौ 'एकमना' भवेताम्। कीदृशोऽयमुदात्तादर्शः। कीदृशं गुरुतरमुत्तरदायित्वं च गुरोः। मानवे चित्तं हृदयं च द्वे एव बहुमूल्यनिधी स्तः। चित्ते विचारसमुद्रो तरंगायते हृदये भावोदधिश्च। चिन्तनभावोद्वेलननियंत्रणं परिष्करणमेव च अध्यात्मविज्ञानस्य मनोविज्ञानस्य चरमं लक्ष्यम्। तेनैव बलं तेजः ओजश्च संवर्धते। सर्वतोमुखी प्रतिभाविलासी जीवनव्यापिनी-भावसंवेदना चोपजायते। वर्तमाने युगे उपनयनस्य स्थानम् अपनयनेन गृहीतम् तेन च विषमागतिः समाजस्य।

संस्कृते शिष्यस्य कृते 'अन्तेवासी' इति शब्दप्रयोगः अतीव सार्थकः। उपनयनात् शिष्यः गुरोरन्तरतमे निवसति।

प्रायोगिक-संस्कारविधौ प्रयुक्तो मन्त्रोऽयम् 'अन्तेवासी' शब्दस्य मार्मिकीं व्याख्यां करोति—

आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं[११] कृणुते गर्भमन्तः।
तं रात्रीस्तिस्त्र उदरे बिभर्ति तं जातं द्रष्टुमभिसंयन्ति देवाः॥

(अथर्ववेद, ११,५३)

मातृगर्भे यथा शिशुः सुरक्षितो विद्यते आचार्यकुले विद्यार्थी तथैव दूषितवातावरणस्य प्रभावात् सुरक्षितो भवति। गुरुशिष्य-सम्बन्धस्य अस्याधिकोत्कृष्टं चित्राङ्कनं किं संभाव्यते। मातुः श्वासे गर्भस्थ-शिशोः श्वसनं, मातुः भोजनेन तस्य भोजनं, मातुः जलपानेन शिशोः जलपानम् च भवति। उपनयनस्यार्थं विवरीतुम् अस्मादुत्कृष्टा नैवोपमा संभाव्यते। गुरुकुले विद्यार्थी द्वितीयजन्मप्रदातृगुरोः पूर्वापेक्षया बृहत्तरस्य परिवारस्याङ्गो भवति। यत्र सः स्वाभाविकरूपेण सामाजिकजीवनस्याङ्गः स्वतो निरायासमेव जायते।

उपनयनसंस्कारे चूडाकर्मसंस्कारस्येव मन्त्रैः मुण्डनं क्रियते। उपनयनस्य पूर्वं

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११. मंत्रेऽस्मिन् 'आचार्यःब्रह्मचारीति' महत्वावहः। 'आचारं ग्राहयतीति आचार्यः।' गुरुः न केवलं ब्रह्मचारिणमाचारस्य शिक्षामात्रं ददाति मौखिकरूपेण परं ग्राहयति' तस्य जीवनचर्यायाम् क्रियात्मकरूपेण। सदाचारस्य शिक्षायाः वास्तविकोऽधिकारी च ब्रह्मचारी एव भवितुमर्हति। यः आध्यात्मिकसंस्कृत्यनुरूपं व्यवहारमाचारं व्रतेन धारयति मानसोत्थानाय, वीर्य-संरक्षेण भौतिकशक्तेरपि सम्यक् संचयनं करोति। सदाचारं विना आचार्यो नैवाचार्यः, ब्रह्मचारी नैव ब्रह्मचारी शिक्षा नैव शिक्षा। सदाचार एव चरित्रनिर्माणस्य मूलं बीजम्।

वटु: त्रिदिवसीयमेकदिवसीयं वा व्रतं करोति। गुरुणा ब्रह्मचर्यस्य व्रतं गृह्णाति। सत्यपालनस्य प्रतिज्ञां करोति। आचार्यः त्रिवारं स्वाञ्जलिगृहीतं जलं शिष्यस्यांजलौ निक्षिप्य तस्याङ्गुष्ठं गृहीत्वा पृथिव्यां जहाति। इयं क्रिया गुरोः विद्यायाः शिष्येण ग्रहणस्य, शिष्येण चास्याः पृथिव्यां विस्तारस्य गूढार्थप्रतीकास्ति। तत्पश्चात् गुरुः शिष्यं सूर्यदर्शनं कारयति आशां च करोति अनेनेति यत् शिष्यस्य जीवनं सूर्यवत् तेजस्वी सूर्यस्य गतिवत् कालेन सुनियंत्रितं च भवेत्। ततश्च शिष्यस्याङ्गस्पर्शेन गुरुः विश्वनियंत्रकशक्तिसाहाय्येन तस्योत्तममानवनिर्माण-विषयकं संकल्पं धारयति।

यज्ञोपवीतस्य सूत्रत्रयं पितृऋणस्य, देवऋणस्य, गुरुऋणस्य स्मारकम्, येषाम् उनृणत्वाय बालकस्य उत्तरदायित्वं वर्तते। अस्माकं संस्कारविधौ जीवनस्य सोद्देश्यता संलक्षिता। एतानि सूत्रत्रयाणि ब्रह्मग्रन्थिना समवायीकृता जीवने ज्ञानकर्मोपासना-त्रितयसमन्वयस्यापि संकेतकानि।

वेदारम्भसंस्कार उपनयनस्य सार्धमेव विहित आसीत्। उपनयनं संपाद्य तस्मिन्नेवाहनि वेदारम्भः कारयेत्। अनयोरतिसंपृक्तत्वात् पार्थक्यमतीवदुष्करम्। एतस्यामवस्थायां वेदारम्भे क्रियमाणानां देवस्तुतिप्रार्थनोपासना-स्वस्तिवाचनशान्तिकरण-यज्ञानुष्ठानादिप्रक्रियाणां पुनरावृत्तेरावश्यता न भवति। यद्यपरस्मिन्दिने संपाद्यते तदा तत्प्रक्रियापुनरावृत्तिः परमावश्यिकी। संस्कारेऽस्मिन् वैदिकशिक्षा-प्रणाल्याः वैज्ञानिक-दृष्ट्या निरूपणमस्ति। वटु: वेदारम्भे गायत्रीमंत्रोपोदेशं गृह्णाति ततश्च गुरोः समीपे ब्रह्मचारी प्रमुखरूपेण श्रद्धया, नियमतः वेदानां, वेदाङ्गानां शिक्षायाः माध्यमेन पूर्णतः संस्कारवान् भवति। मनुः संस्कारमिमं कर्मयोगशब्देन सूचयित्वा (मनु० २/६८) सविस्तारं वेदाध्येतुः कर्त्तव्याकर्त्तव्यान् आत्म-विकासाय सम्पूर्णां क्रियाविधिमुपदिशति। (मनु० २/६९-११४)

केशान्तसंस्कार उपनीतस्य विद्यार्थिनः क्रियते स्म। उपनयनस्य तु प्रथा अद्यापि गृहेषु वर्तते परं केशान्तः केवलं गुरुकुलेष्वेव क्रियते। वैदिक-शिक्षायामस्य प्रभूतं महत्वं वर्तते। ब्राह्मणस्य केशान्तः षोडशे वर्षे, क्षत्रियाणां द्वाविंश, वैश्याणां च चतुर्विंशतिवर्षे मनुना प्रोक्तम् (मनु० २/६५)

स्त्रियेभ्योऽपि सर्व एवैताः संस्काराः विहिताः। परं विवाहस्यातिरिक्तं मन्त्रोच्चारणं विनैव ते सम्पाद्या इति मनोर्मतम् (२/६६)। व्यासोऽपि एवमेव कथयति (**व्यासस्मृतौ** १/१५/१६)

प्राचीनकाले ब्रह्मचारिणः प्रायेण केशकर्तनं न क्रियते स्म। युवावस्थायां ब्रह्मचारी यदीच्छेत् तदा प्रथमवारं श्मश्रुमुच्छागमने सति केशोच्छेदनमपि संस्कारपूर्वमेव कुर्यादिति आर्षी दृष्टिः। अस्मिन् संस्कारेऽपि मुण्डनसंस्कारस्येव विधेः प्रयोगः क्रियते स्म।

समावर्तनसंस्कार: गुरुणा साङ्गोपाङ्गरूपेण वेदाध्ययनस्यानन्तरं क्रियते। ब्रह्मचर्यपूर्वकं वेदाध्ययनस्य अवधि: षट्त्रिंशत् (३६) अष्टादश (१८) नव (९) वर्ष-पर्यन्तमासीत्। (**मनु० ३/१**)। अस्यामवधौ वैदिकशिक्षादर्शने ब्रह्मचारी यथामतिनिष्णातत्वं प्राप्य, दीर्घकर्मयोगोपासनेन ऊर्जान्वितो भवति। यथाधिकारं शिष्यस्य गुरुरस्यामवधौ एकस्य, द्वयो: सर्वेषां वेदानां वा, अध्यापनं कुर्यात् (मनु० ३/१)।

शिक्षासमाप्तौ स्नातकीय-स्नानादिपूर्वकं माल्यादिभि: पूजित: सन् भाविजीवनस्य कर्त्तव्य-निर्धारणात्मकमुपदेशमवाप्य, स्नातकेनाचार्यं प्रति कृतज्ञता-ज्ञापनपूर्वकं स: ब्रह्मचारी गुरोराज्ञया अविलुप्त-ब्रह्मचर्येणैव विवाहाधिकारं प्राप्नोति (मनु० ३/४१) गुरुदक्षिणां च ददाति।

गृहस्थप्रवेशसंस्कार: (विवाहोऽग्न्याधानञ्च)

भारतीयपरम्परायां गृहस्थाश्रम: सर्वेषामेवाश्रमाणाम् आधारो मन्यते। गृहस्थाश्रमे स्थिते दाम्पत्यजीवने स्वास्थ्यस्य चरित्रस्य, परिवारस्य, समाजस्य, राष्ट्रस्य, विश्वमात्रस्यापि-समुपयोगितां कल्याणं चाभिलक्ष्यैव भोगस्यानुमति: धर्मशास्त्रे प्रदत्ता। पाश्चात्यदेशेरिवात्र विवाहस्य प्रयोजनं कामवासनाया: तृप्तिमात्रमेव नैवास्ति। अत्र विधिवत् धर्मानुष्ठानार्थं (भारतीयदृशा कस्यचिदपि यज्ञयागादिधर्मानुष्ठानस्य पूर्ति: पत्नीं विना नैव भवति) चारित्र्योन्नयन-राष्ट्रोन्नयकारिसन्तानोत्पत्त्यर्थम् आत्मभावविस्तारार्थं च वैदिकसंस्कारेण सुलक्षणाया: 'धर्मपत्न्या:' पाणिग्रहणं क्रियते न च 'भोगपत्न्या:'। दाम्पत्यजीवनेऽप्यत्र नियंत्रितस्य, संयतस्य, प्रायेण ब्रह्मचर्यपालनपूर्वकस्येव भोगाचारस्य विधानमस्ति। (मनु० अ० १३) अनिष्टप्रभावोत्पादकानां परिवारनियोजनस्य कृत्रिमोपायानां भारतीय-संस्कृतिनिष्ठजीवनस्य चर्चायां न काप्यावश्यता। अयं तु भोगैकनिष्ठपाश्चात्य-संस्कृते: प्रभावो भारते लक्ष्यते।

ब्रह्मचर्यपालेन ओजोबलवृद्धिर्जायते, यन्न केवलं स्वयं दम्पत्यो: नीरोगतां, प्रसन्नतां वैचारिकसंशुद्धिं च जनयति, अपितु भाविसंततेरपि सुसंस्कारिताया: आरोग्यताया:, चरित्रनिर्माणाधायकसात्विकताया: ओजस्वितायाश्च सुदृढामाधार-भित्तिमपि संस्थापयति।

विवाहसंस्कारस्य प्राचीनकालवत् प्रायेणाद्यावधि भारते महत्त्वं वर्तते। धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां पुरुपार्थचतुष्टयानामयमेव गृहस्थाश्रम: प्रमुख आधार: (**मनु० ३/७७, ७८**) मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यानारदस्मृतिषु च अष्टविधविवाहो वर्णित:।

ब्राह्मो दैवस्तथैवार्ष: प्राजापत्यस्तथासुर:।
गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव पैशाचश्चाष्टमोऽधम:॥

(मनु० ३/९)

एषु प्रथमोक्तानां चतुर्णां श्रेयस्करत्वं शास्त्रकारैः स्वीकृतम् यथोक्तमपि उपरिश्लोके। प्रथमचतुष्टयेऽपि सर्वप्रथमोक्तस्य ब्राह्मविवाहस्य सर्वोत्कृष्टतावशात् वर्तमानकालेऽपि सर्वाधिक-प्रचलितत्वाच्च तमेव पत्रमिदं लक्षीकरोति।

विवाहसमये वधूवरयोः योग्यतानां गुणावगुणानां सम्यग्ध्यानं दीयते। विवाहसंस्कारे मुख्यतया धर्मशास्त्रे वाग्दान-वरवरण-कन्यादान-परिणय-होम-पाणिग्रहण-सप्तपदी-पत्नीहृदयस्पर्श-सूर्यावलोकन सुमंगल्याश्वासनारुन्धती-ध्रुवदर्शन-त्रिरात्रव्रत-चतुर्थीकर्माणां सविस्तारं विधानं वर्तते। (**पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे** १/३ से ८ कण्डिकान्तपर्यन्तं) मनुस्मृतौ तृतीयचतुर्थाध्याये विस्तृतरूपेणविवाहसम्बन्धिनां गृहाश्रम-संबन्धिनां च कर्त्तव्याकर्त्तव्याणां, तेषु पञ्चमहायज्ञानां च वर्णनमस्ति। विवाहसंस्कारविधौ हृदयालम्भने, उपनयनविध्युक्तं गुरुशिष्यप्रतिज्ञासंबद्धं 'ओं मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि'[१२] इत्यादि मंत्रं दम्पतिः परस्परमुच्चार्य एकीभावस्य प्रतिज्ञां करोति। पतिकुल-समागतायाः वध्वाःगृहलक्ष्मीसम्मानेन पूजनं सम्मानं च यावज्जीवनं विहितम्।

अग्न्याधानसंस्कारोऽपि गृहस्थजीवनस्यारम्भे महत्त्वावहः। विवाहविधावेव कन्यादानस्यानन्तरं यद् होमो विधीयते स योजकः कथ्यते—'विवाहे योजकः स्मृतः।' अस्मिन् होमे पूर्णाहुतिर्न विधीयते होमाग्निश्चास्य कन्यागृहात् वरस्य गृहे नीयते। आजीवनं चास्मिन्नेवाग्नौ नित्यं तस्य गृहे होमक्रिया क्रियते। योजकहोमानन्तरं बहवो होमाः **पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे** वर्णिताः। तेषु राष्ट्रकृद्होमः जयहोमः अभ्यातानं च सर्वाधिक महत्त्वमावहन्ति।

निवृत्ति-संस्कारः—(वानप्रस्थ-संन्यासान्त्येष्टिश्चेति)

वैदिकसंस्कृतौ भोगत्यागयोः समन्वयदृष्टिः परिलक्ष्यते। संसारस्य प्रारम्भो भोगे अन्तश्च त्यागे भवति। अत्र तु भोगोऽपि त्यागपूर्वकमेव विहितम्। वैदिकादर्शानुसारं मानवेन भोगान् भुक्त्वा तेभ्य उपरमणमेवास्ति लक्ष्यम्। न चात्र निमज्जनमेव। युवावस्थातः वार्धक्योन्मुखे जीवने विषयोपभोगेन, प्राकृतिकनियमेन च शक्तिह्रासः स्वाभाविकः। अस्यामपि अवस्थायां भोगवासनायां लिप्ततायां सत्यां मानवस्य दुर्गतिरेव संभाव्या। गार्हस्थ्ये बुद्धिमान् जनो भोगानां निःस्सारतामनुभूय क्लेशाधिक्यं चानुभूय तेभ्यो मोक्षमेवाकांक्षति। पुत्रपौत्रादिके जाते स्वप्रभावं गृहे क्षीयमाणं पश्यति। यदि पूर्ववत् भोगेपु आसक्तिवशात् स्वमेव प्रभुत्वम् आजीवनमभिलषति तदा पुत्रादिपारिवारिकजनानां

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१२. **मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि मम चित्तम् अनु चित्तं ते अस्तु।**
मम वाचम् एकमना जुषस्व बृहस्पतिष्ट्वा नियुनक्तु मह्यम्॥
(आश्वलायन गृह्यसूत्रे २, २१, ७)

जीवनविकासे बाधा भवति। कलहश्च जायते। अतो पित्रादिना 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकमिति' सूक्ते:चरिताथंता-संपादनार्थं गृहत्यागोप्रभुत्वत्यागो वा समाश्रयणीय:। अस्या एवं मनोवैज्ञानिक्या: वैचारिकस्थिते: प्रवृत्तेश्च ऋषिभि: वानप्रस्थम् इति संज्ञा प्रदत्ता। अतोऽत्र वानप्रस्थसंस्कारोऽपि विहित:। परमयं न पलायनो संसारादपितु स्वेच्छया आत्मविकासार्थं जीवनयात्रायाम् अग्रेसरणमस्ति। मनु: सन्तानोत्पत्तिं तस्य (सन्तते:) विवाहं च कृत्वा गृहस्थस्य पौत्रमुखदर्शनं पश्चात् तप:स्वाध्यायार्थं वानप्रस्थाश्रमे प्रविशेत् इति विधानं करोति। (**मनुस्मृति** ७/१-३)। व्यासोऽपि 'त्रेताग्निसंग्रहश्चेति' (**व्यासस्मृति** १/७५) कथयन् वानप्रस्थस्य विधानं करोति। त्रेताग्निश्च गार्हपत्याग्नि:, दक्षिणाग्नि:, आहवनीयाग्निश्चेति। अग्नित्रयाणां यज्ञविधौ प्रयुक्तमन्त्रेषु हव्यपदार्थेषु च भेदो भवति।

संन्यासाश्रम: पूर्णत: मोहबन्धविनिर्मुक्तौ यावज्जीवनं नक्तं दिनं निष्काम-कर्मयोगस्य अभ्यासावस्थास्ति। यद्विषये **गीतायामुक्तम्**—'काम्यानां कर्मणां न्यास: कर्मसन्यास उच्यते', इति। ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारमात्रस्यैकलक्ष्यप्राप्ते: कर्मभूमिरियम्। संन्यासी परोपकारमपि अनासक्तभावेनैव करोति, पूर्वाभ्यासवशात्। सुखं, दु:खं, पापं, पुण्यं, जयं, पराजयं, सर्वमेव समभावेनैव स्वीकरोति। अस्यार्थं संन्यासदीक्षाविधाने विराजहोमस्य विधानमस्ति अर्थात् आसक्तिमूलं रजोगुणम् अग्नौ स: भस्मीकरोति। संन्यासी अग्निहोत्रकर्माण्यपि परित्यजति। संन्यासदीक्षात्पूर्ववत् एव उपवासं भूमिशयनं च करोति, आहारे दुग्धमात्रं गृह्णाति। एकान्ते प्राणायामध्यानादिपुरस्सरं ओंकारस्य जपं करोति। सन्यासिने अन्यमन्त्राणां जपो न विहित:। संन्याससंदीक्षाहवने स्वचितामपि परिकल्प्य सन्यासी स्वामन्त्येष्टिमपि करोति। तत: प्रारभ्याजीवनं काषायवस्त्रधारणं करोति, दण्डं, कमण्डलुम् च धारयति। निर्द्वन्द्व: सन् यत्र तत्र विचरणं च करोति। ऋषिभि: आश्रमचतुष्टयस्य परिकल्पनाया: परिपाक: संन्यास भवति। वास्तविकरूपेण काम्यकर्मणां परित्यागावस्थाया: चरमाभ्यास एव संन्यास:। न तु निष्कर्मण्यभाव:। तथ्यमिदमतिमहत्त्वावहं यदृषिभि: जीवनस्य भागचतुष्टये विभाजने सर्वत्रैव आश्रमस्य व्यवस्था कृता।

यत्र 'आसमन्तात्' 'श्रम:' वर्तते स एव आश्रम:। कठिनश्रमं विना आलस्ये स्थातुं क्वापि तत्र नावसर:। श्रमोऽपि च नि:स्वार्थभावपूर्वमेव। ब्रह्मचर्याश्रमे त्यागस्य तितिक्षायाश्च पाठ: सश्रमं पाठ्यो। यतो गार्हस्थ्ये भोगावसरे समागते त्यागनिष्ठ एव भोगी भवेत्। भोगान् भुक्त्वा एव तेषां क्लेशाधिक्यस्य नि:सारतायाश्च बोधो भवति। विषयास्वादं विनैव बलात् विषयत्यागात् प्रायेण पथभ्रष्टता संभाव्यते। अतो गृहस्थाश्रम: कल्पित:। गृहस्थाश्रमेऽपि त्यागपूर्वकं भोगस्य व्यवस्था यत: न भोगा एव जीवनस्य लक्ष्यम्। संसारे प्रवृत्ति: संसारान् निवृत्यर्थम्। गृहाश्रमी स्वार्थकेन्द्रितां वृत्तिं परिवारे नियोज्य नैसर्गिकं त्यागसुखमनुभवति शास्त्रादेशशस्य कर्तव्यपालनेन सप्रयासं बलात् कठोरश्रमेण

चात्मविकासाय त्यागं करोति। वानप्रस्थ: तस्मिन्नेव धर्माचरणे परिपक्वतया नि:सारं विषयोपभोगसुखं परित्यजति परोपकारे एव सुखं चानुभवति।

निष्कामकर्मणाम् परिपक्वाभ्यासात् तप: स्वाध्याययोगश्चर्यायां परिपूर्णतावशात् मानवस्य 'अहं ब्रह्मास्मीति' तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारो जायते। अत: तत्कृते संन्यास संस्कारोऽपि ऋषीणां सूक्ष्मैक्षिकां प्रदर्शयति।

अन्तिमायाम् इष्ट्यां भौतिकशरीरस्य पंचत्वप्राप्तौ संसारेणैव निवृत्तिर्भवति अतो भौतिकशरीरस्य पुत्रादिभि: तद्वत् सर्वेभ्य: सूक्ष्मतत्त्वेभ्य: अग्निमाध्यमेन समर्पणं क्रियते यैरिदं निर्मितमासीत्। संसारिणां मृतकानां कृते तत्र भाविसूक्ष्मशरीरेण उत्तमपुनर्जन्मस्य च भावना वेदमन्त्रै: क्रियते। संन्यासिनस्तु कर्मबन्धननि: शेषत्वात् अग्निसमर्पणविधि: नैव संपाद्यते।

सर्वेषामेवेतेषां संस्काराणामवसरे अनिवार्यतया मंत्रोच्चारपूर्वकं स्वस्ति-वाचन-शान्तिपाठ-दिगूक्षण-रक्षासूत्रबन्धनाऽऽचार्यवरणसङ्कल्पग्रहण-देवार्चन-यज्ञादीनां विधानेन संस्क्रियमाणजीवस्य तत्रस्थपरिवारस्य, विद्यमान-सर्वजनानां प्रतिवेशस्य पर्यावरणस्य च पवित्रीकरणं शोधनं भवति।

वैदिकानां संस्कारयोजना अध्यात्मविज्ञानस्य संसारस्य सर्वातिशायिनी योजनास्ति। अस्या: केन्द्र-बिन्दु: उदात्तचारित्रिकसम्पदा सम्पन्नमानवस्य निर्माणमस्ति। क्रमिकस्य आत्मविकासस्य योजनास्ति। पूर्णत्वस्य योजनास्ति।

अध्यात्मं चेतनाया: विज्ञानम् तदेव च स्थूल-सूक्ष्म-कारणशरीरस्य-स्तरत्रयाणां मूलस्रोत:। चेतनाजागरणाय पीनियलग्रन्थे: जागरणम् आवश्यकम्। आर्षपद्धतौ इदमाज्ञा-चक्रस्य प्रतीकम्। अस्माकं ऋषयस्तु सहस्र-सहस्राब्दपूर्वादेव अस्य महत्त्वप्रतिपादनं प्रयोगं च कुर्वन्ति स्म। वर्तमानयुगेऽपि मूर्द्धन्यान्तस्राविविज्ञानविशारदेन रसेल, जी० रीटरेण 'दि पीनियलग्लैण्ड' पुस्तके तपस्या-तितिक्षोपवासादीनां सकारात्मकक्षमताविकासे महत्त्वावह: प्रभाव: स्वीकृत:। एवमेव फ्रान्सीसी शरीर-वैज्ञानिकेन जी० राइसीत्याख्येन 'ट्रेटेडी(जी) न्यूरो एण्ड क्राइनोलॉजी ग्रन्थे अस्यां ग्रन्थ्यां विचाराणां प्रभावं वर्णयित्वा अध्यात्मविज्ञान-सम्मतया आहारविहारयो: इन्द्रियनिग्रहस्य सात्त्विकपरिणामानां च पुष्टि: कृता।

व्यक्ते: विचारा: भावनाश्च सशक्तवैद्युच्चुम्बकीयतरंगमयाशक्तिप्रसारयुक्ता: भवन्ति। एते विचारा: भावनाश्च मानसरश्मिसमूहस्य प्रत्यावर्तनस्वरूपा एव। चेतनजीवनस्य मूले सुविशालमवचेतनमतिचेतनं मनो वर्तते। तच्च बाह्यजीवनवर्तिविषय-निष्ठचेतनापेक्षया सबलतरमस्ति। तत्र शिवत्वसौन्दर्यमूलका: संस्कारा अपि विद्यन्ते, येषां प्रस्फोटनेन जीवने सर्वत्र मंगलसृष्टि: संभाव्यते। दुर्विचारसंक्रमणस्य दौर्भाग्यस्य च

प्रतीकारार्थं दृढसंकल्पमयं सद्भावनां चिन्तनमेवैकममोघं प्रतिविषम्। तदेव च देवमानवयोर्मध्ये सम्बन्धसूत्रं निर्माय अभीष्टफलं प्रददाति। जीवने कृतस्य प्रत्येककर्मण: मनोभावस्यापि द्विपक्षीय: परिणामोऽनिवार्य एव। एकत: कर्तु: व्यक्तिगतमानसे, अपरतश्च सम्पूर्णे संसारे। व्यक्तिगतजीवने सम्पादित कर्मणां परकीयचित्तेषु निक्षिप्त: प्रभाव एव भाविजीवनस्य भूमिकानिर्माणं करोति। व्यक्तिगतजीवनस्य सद्विचारदुर्विचाररूपं बीजं समष्टिजीवने सहस्रधा गुणनमवाप्य विचारसंक्रामकता विटपत्वं धारयति।

निष्ठया सुप्रयुक्तमन्त्राणां जपात्मकं, होमात्मकं, तपश्चर्याद्यन्यविधसाधनात्मकं कर्मकाण्डात्मकं च विधानमाश्रित्य तन्निष्ठाया: प्रचण्डशक्ते: स्फोट: विस्फोट: संपाद्यते। मंत्रोच्चारणेन जन्यभाववृत्तानां ध्वनिवृत्तानां च परिधय:, न केवलमुच्चारणकर्तुरेवापितु परेषामपि मानसिकं स्तरं तत्कारणीभूतपरिस्थितीनां वातावरणमपि परिवर्तयितुं शक्नुवन्ति।

मन्त्राणां गठनं शब्द-विज्ञानस्य निगूढरहस्यात्मकमस्ति। तेषामुच्चारणेन न केवलं मुखाद्यवयवेष्वेव गतिर्भवति अपितु तेषां स्पन्दानि सूक्ष्मशरीरस्य केन्द्रानपि प्रभावितं कुर्वन्ति। तेन तदन्तर्वर्तीनि षट्चक्राणि, नाडिकात्रयं दशप्राणा: चतु:पञ्चाशत् (५४) उपत्यकाश्चेति सर्वमेव मन्त्राक्षरप्रवाहेण सक्रिया: जागृता जायन्ते। व्यक्तित्वस्य ऊर्ध्व-गामितायां च साहाय्यं कुर्वन्ति।

वर्तमाने युगे धर्मशास्त्रोक्तानां सर्वेषामेव संस्काराणां साङ्गोपाङ्गं विधिपूर्वकं कार्यान्वयनं यद्यपि न शक्यम् तथापि वर्तमानयुगीनजटिलजीवनेऽपि यथासंभवमपि पूर्वोक्तसंस्काराणां सम्पादनं सांस्कृतिकक्षरणमवरोद्धुं क्षमते। संस्कारमूलाया: भारतीय-संस्कृते: राष्ट्रगौरवस्य च संरक्षार्थं संस्कारा एव सक्षमा:। यै: राष्ट्रोन्नयनचारित्र्योन्नयन-सामर्थ्यबलादधुनापि भारतस्य शाश्वतमूल्यमयं विश्वगुरुत्वं पुनरपि प्रामाणिकं सेत्स्यति नात्र संशयलेश:।

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गैर्वाणीगौरवग्रन्थमाला

गीर्वाणवाणीगौरवभूतप्रत्ननूतनलघुग्रन्थानां सङ्कलनम्

गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठशोधपत्रिकायाः

परिशिष्टम्

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श्री दुर्गादत्तविरचितं

वाताह्वानम्

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शैवरामायणम्

सम्पादकः

डॉ० गयाचरण त्रिपाठी

प्राचार्यः

प्रयागस्थस्य

श्रीगङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठस्य

गैर्वाणीगौरवग्रन्थमाला

पञ्चदश-षोडश सुमे

*

ग्रन्थमालासम्पादकौ
गयाचरण त्रिपाठी
माया मालवीया

॥ १५ ॥

श्री दुर्गादत्तविरचितं
वाताह्वानम्
(वर्णानुक्रमकाव्यम्)

॥ १६ ॥

शैवरामायणम्

श्री दुर्गादत्तविरचितं

॥ वाताह्वानम् ॥

(वर्णानुक्रमकाव्यम्)

सम्पादकः

डा० गयाचरण त्रिपाठी

॥ वाताह्वानम् ॥

उपोद्घातः

१९९७ तमे ईशवीये हायने वाराणसेयात् कस्माच्चिद् हस्तलेखसंग्राहकाद् विद्यापीठसंग्रहालयार्थं 'वाताह्वानं' नामकस्यास्य काव्यग्रन्थस्य क्रयोऽस्माभिरकारि। अप्रसिद्धतयास्य ग्रन्थस्य जानकुतूहलोऽहं हस्तलेखस्य छायाप्रतिं विधायास्य प्रतिलिपिं कृतवान्। लघुकायस्यास्य काव्यस्य विषयवस्तु, पद्यानि चास्मभ्यं भृशमरोचन्त। काव्यमिदं वर्ण्यविषयमधिकृत्य, पद्यानामाद्याक्षराणि चावलम्ब्य काममपि चमत्कारमयीं नूतनां सरणिं समालम्बते। ग्रीष्मर्तौ यदा वायुर्नैव वाति तदा घर्माकुला जनाः कथं शीतलवायोः संचार-मभिललषन्तस्तमाह्वयन्ति इत्येव वर्ण्यविषयः।

काव्येऽस्मिन् चतुस्त्रिंशत् पद्यानि। प्रथमं मङ्गलाचरणपद्यं विहाय सर्वाण्यप्यन्यानि पद्यानि संस्कृतवर्णमालायाः कादिक्षान्तां वर्णानुपूर्वीमनुमत्य, एकैकं व्यञ्जनं क्रमश आदाय कविना विरचितानीत्येतद् विबुधानां सुतरां चमत्कारकारि। अद्यत्वे संस्कृत पाठशालादिषु बहुशः प्रचलितासु अन्त्याक्षरीप्रतियोगितासु एतेषां पद्यानां विशेषत उपयोगः कर्तुं शक्यते।

वाताह्वानस्य कर्ता दुर्गादत्तो मैथिल आसीत् किन्तु मध्यप्रदेशस्य पन्नाजनपदा-धीशस्य 'हिन्दूपति' इत्याख्यस्य बुन्देलनृपतेः पण्डितसभामलंचकार। अयं हिन्दूपतिः विश्रुतकीर्तेः बुन्देलखण्डनृपतेश्छत्रसालस्य प्रपौत्रः, अथ च सभासिंहस्य पुत्र आसीत् अयानसिंहाख्यं स्वकीयं कनीयांसं भ्रातरम् १८१५ तमे वैक्रमाब्दे निहत्य स राजसिंहासनमारुरोह, अथ च १८३४ तमं वैक्रमाब्दपर्यन्तं (१७५८ ईशवीयवर्षतः १७७७ ईशवीयवर्षपर्यन्तं) शासनं चकार। दरभंगामण्डलेऽस्य ग्रन्थस्य हस्तलेखत्रयं १९३३ तमे ईशवीये वर्षे पण्डितानामागारेषूपलब्धमासीदिति श्रीमता काशीप्रसाद-जायसवालेन स्वीये मिथिलाञ्चलीयहस्तलेखानां विवरणात्मके सूचीपत्रे (Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila, Vol. II, Patna 1933; *vide* Ms No. 134) उल्लिखितम्। सर्वेऽपीमे हस्तलेखा मिथिलाक्षरेषु लिखिता वर्तन्ते। एतेषु हस्तलेखेषु प्राचीनतमस्य लेखनं १७७० तमे शकसंवत्सरे (१८४८ ई०) अभूदित्यपि तस्य पुष्पिकया ज्ञातं भवति। एकस्यां पाण्डुलिपौ ग्रन्थकर्तुर्नाम 'दुर्गादत्त झा' इत्यपि उट्टङ्कितम्।

अयं खलु दुर्गादत्तः एतद्ग्रन्थरत्नं ईशावीयगणनया १७६० वर्षतः १७७० वर्ष पर्यन्तं कदाचित् प्रणिनायेत्यस्माकमनुमानम्। आस्माकीना वाराणसीतः प्राप्ता, नागराक्षरेषु लिखिता चतु:पत्रमयी (सप्त पृष्ठात्मिका) मातृकेयं लिपिविज्ञानदृष्ट्या एकोनविंशशताब्द्याः प्रारम्भे मध्यभागे वा लिखितेव प्रतीयते। प्रतिपृष्ठं दशपंक्त्यात्मिका, प्रतिपंक्ति च प्रायः पञ्चत्रिंशद्वर्णात्मिका इयं मातृका प्रायः शुद्धा। यत्र तत्र वर्तमाना लेखकत्रुटीर्निरस्य अस्माभिः पाठः संशोधितः। किन्तु नैतत् समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणम्, यतः पूर्वोक्ते सूचीपत्रे उल्लिखिता मातृका अस्माभिर्नैवासादिता न चावलोकिताः। तथापि कमपि नूतनं वर्ण्यविषयं प्रकाशयन्नूतनां वर्णनशैलीं चावलम्बयदिदं सरसं काव्यं साहितीरसरसज्ञानां सहृदयानां प्रमोदाय कल्पिष्यत इत्याशास्यैतदस्माभिः किञ्चित्पाठाविलत्वं बिभ्रदपि प्राकाश्यं नीयते—

इति विदुषामनुचरस्य

त्रिपाठिनो गयाचरणस्य

अथ श्री दुर्गादत्तविरचितं

॥ वाताह्वानम् ॥

(वातमुद्दिश्य प्रणीतं वर्णानुक्रमकाव्यम्)

***

वाणीं प्रणम्य शिरसि प्रणिधाय पाणी
काद्यक्षराद्यनवपद्यचयं करोमि।
सद्बालकस्य मरुतेव कचाकुलस्य
मोदाय मे भवतु कौतुकतः प्रयासः ॥ १ ॥

(क)

कमलकुमुदगन्धवाहकत्वा-
दहनि निशि त्वभिसारकारकोऽपि।
यदि न पवन वासि सम्प्रति त्वं
तव विफलं हि तदा सदागतित्वम् ॥ २ ॥

(ख)

खञ्जोऽसि किं मलयतः पतनेन किं वा
रेवाविलोकनमहाभयमन्थरोऽसि।
श्रान्तोऽसि दीर्घपथलङ्घनतः किमु त्वं
कस्मात् समीरण समागमने विलम्बः ॥ ३ ॥

(ग)

गोदावरीजलनिमज्जनपुण्ययोगाद्
भोगं विधेहि सविधे हि समेत्य वायो।
स्पर्शेन चीरमपकृत्य पटीरपङ्क-
स्निग्धस्य मुग्धवनिताकुचकोरकस्य ॥ ४ ॥

(घ)

घर्माकुला कुलवधूरवधूय वस्त्रं
तुभ्यं नटीव पवन प्रकटीकरोति।
वक्षोजपूर्णकलशाविह तूर्णमेत्य
तावेव पूर्वमवलोकय मङ्गलाय॥ ५॥

(ङ)

ङवन्त एते करुणासमेता हाहेति हंसा हरिणावलाक्षीम्।
विलोक्य केलिश्रमवारिमग्नां जातोऽसि रे वात दयादरिद्रः॥

(च)

चौरश्चन्दनसौरभस्य मलयक्षोणीभृतां किं भवान्।
बद्धो वात किमम्बुजातविकशत्कोशे शयानः सुखम्।
किं वा पन्नगपुङ्गवेन परितः पीतः परेणान्यथा
किं नाविर्भवति प्रतप्तजगति त्वन्मार्गमुत्पश्यति॥ ७॥

(छ)

छायायामपि संस्थितः कमलिनीपत्रेऽपि चित्रे चिरं
सुप्तस्तप्ततनुस्त्वनुक्षणमपि स्नातः सरिन्निर्झरे।
लिप्तो घर्षितचन्दनादिभिरपि प्रायो भवन्तं विना
कश्चिन्नैव जनः प्रभञ्जन पुनः प्राप्नोति शैत्यं परम्॥ ८॥

(ज)

जगति सपदि सर्वस्याशुगन्तुश्च गर्वं
कथमपि पथि खर्वं संविधायैव लब्धम्।
चपलगमनवत्त्वान्नाम यत्त्वाशुगेति
तव पवन विलम्बे जायते तस्य हानिः॥ ९॥

(झ)

झञ्झावातगिरिप्रपातपतितो जीर्णोऽथ जन्मान्तरं
प्राप्तः प्राक्तनपुण्यपुञ्जवशतो जातोऽसि सर्वप्रियः।
बालः कालवशेन सम्प्रति जगत्प्राणस्त्वमेवोच्यसे
विश्लेषे भवतः कथं वद जगत्प्राणाः प्रयाणोत्सुकाः॥ १०॥

(ञ)

ञकारयोगेन विना जकारो यथा जगत्प्राण कदापि न ज्ञः।
कायस्तथा नायमशेषजन्तोस्त्वया विना वात सचेतनः स्यात् ॥ ११ ॥

(ट)

टीकसे यदि समीर निर्जने
व्यर्थमर्थमतितप्तसज्जने।
नैषि तेन विबुधेन मन्यते
तावकीनसविवेकता मृषा ॥ १२ ॥

(ठ)

ठण्ठन्नितिध्वनिपरान् सरसीसरःस्था-
नानीय शून्यकलशान् बहुशो निपात्य।
क्रुद्धीकृतानि भवता जलहारिणीनां
वक्त्राणि पश्य सलिलेषु विहारिणीनाम् ॥ १३ ॥

(ड)

डिम्भानिल त्वमसि चन्दनचुम्बितास्यो
हास्योदयं कलय कैरवकम्पनेन।
सञ्चारितारुणसरोरुहहस्तपादो
नादोद्यतो भव मधुव्रतगुञ्जनेन ॥ १४ ॥

(ढ)

ढुण्ढि प्रणम्य परिधापय पुष्पमाला-
मालोक्य सज्जलसमुच्छलदण्डजालीम्।
पश्चात् पथि श्वसन संचरतादविघ्नं
कान्तारशैलसरितान्तरणस्य हेतोः ॥ १५ ॥

(ण)

णकारः खलुधात्वादिर्नकारो जायते यथा।
दाक्षिणात्येऽनिले वाति तथैवोष्मस्तु शीतलः ॥ १६ ॥

(त)

तनोति सुतनोः सुखं चपलमञ्चलस्यानिलः
प्रभुत्वमिह दर्शयेत् किमपि तालवृन्तानिलः।
परन्तु मलयानिल त्वयि चलत्युपान्ते शनैः
जनैरतिगवेषणैः क्वचिदिमौ न लभ्यौ पुनः॥ १७॥

(थ)

थूत्कं फणीन्द्रफणफूत्कृतितोऽपपातं
संस्पृश्य दैववशतस्त्वमभूरमेध्यः।
कावेरिकाम्भसि ततः सुतराममज्जः
स्वान्तेन वात कृतिनः स्पृहया स्पृशन्ति॥ १८॥

(द)

दिव्याम्बराश्रिततनुश्च समुद्रवेला-
स्वेलाफलास्वदनलब्धसुरम्यगन्धः।
ताम्बूलपूगपरिपूरितवक्त्रभागः
स्वीयागतः पवननागरिकः प्रपातु॥ १९॥

(ध)

धात्रा समीर रमणी रमणीयमूर्तिः
काचित् प्रदीपकलिका कलिकामशस्त्री।
लोकान्धकारहरिणी हरिणीदृगेषा
तिष्ठेद् विना न भवता भुवि तापयोगात्॥ २०॥

(न)

निर्णीतमेव मलयादहिकालकूटं
गृह्णासि मारुत वियोगवतीवधाय।
श्रीखण्डशैलमपि हेमसमानकान्त-
केलिश्रमाकुलवधूवपुषः सुखाय॥ २१॥

(प)

पद्माकरस्पर्शमुखी सर्वदानन्दकप्रियः।
वनमालान्वितः पातु वातविष्णुर्जगत्त्रयम्॥ २२॥

(फ)

फलमुपेत्य ददासि सदागते
त्वमपि दैवहते विपरीतकम्।
सुखयिता दयिताधरभोगिनं
दहसि मुक्तदयोऽपि वियोगिनम्॥ २३॥

(ब)

बृहस्पतिसमोऽपि यं कथयितुं कदाचित् क्षमो
भवत्यनिल नो भवन्मिलनजातमानन्दकम्।
विधूननवकेसरच्छलपरैस्तु रोमोद्गमैः
प्रकाशयति कानने किमिह तं कदम्बद्रुमः॥ २४॥

(भ)

भृङ्गावलीकलितकोमलकण्ठमालो
बालोऽनिलः कुसुमधूलिविधूसराङ्गः।
शिप्राङ्कतश्चलतु मत्सविधे सदायं
सायन्तनातिथिरिवाचलतां प्रयातु॥ २५॥

(म)

मल्लीवल्लीनिपातच्छलकलितनतिः सर्वसंश्लेषशाली
जोगुञ्जन्मञ्जुलालिप्रियवचनचयैः स्वागतप्रश्नशीलः।
चम्पाकल्लोकम्पाकुलनलिनवनीदत्तसौरभ्यसारं
संदेशं सज्जनेभ्यःऽस दिशतु मलयादागतोगन्धवाहः॥ २६॥

(य)

ये केचित् पवनाशनेन परितः पीताः कृशा वायव-
स्तेऽप्यस्मिन् समये वहन्ति विरहिश्वासेन पुष्टा इव।
मुक्त्वा किन्तु तदीय संगमवशप्राप्तोष्मतां स्नानतो
रेवायां, कथमन्यथा हि जगतः शैत्यं समुत्पाद्यताम्॥ २७॥

(र)

रमय पवन मालतीं पुरस्तात्
तदनु लवङ्गलतां ततो हि यूथीम्।
तदनु च नवमल्लिकां ततोऽन्यां
सहरमणे हि परस्परं त्रपा स्यात्॥ २८॥

(ल)

लाटीलीलाकपाटीभवदमलपटोद्घाटनैर्वर्करराटं
पश्यन् पाटीरवाटीनटनपटुतया स्पृष्टसंश्लिष्टगन्धः।
कार्णाटीदिव्यशाटीस्खलनकटितटोद्घाटनाकृष्टदृष्टै-
र्वाटीभूतो ललाटीं मरुदपसरतु ग्रावतोऽरिष्टपुष्टः॥ २९॥

(व)

विशति मलयवाते दिग्विदिक्षु प्रभाते
वलति मदनबाणः सत्वरः प्राप्तशाणः।
अपि च कमलगन्धः कामिनां धैर्यबन्धः
समपसरति मानः किं तदालोकमानः॥ ३०॥

(श)

श्रीमद्गुणान् गणयिता त्वयि वाति वायो
कायाग्रतापशमनेन समग्रलोकः।
उद्घोषयत्यपि परन्तु तमैकदोषं
यत् प्रायशो वदनशीकरकान्तिशान्तिः॥ ३१॥

(ष)

षण्णामृतूनामधिपो वसन्त-
स्त्वया विना हन्त न सौख्यदःषस्यात्।
अनन्तपुण्योऽपि नृपो नभस्व-
न्नये नयेनेव धनेश्वरोऽपि॥ ३२॥

(स)

सत्यं ब्रूहि तदेतदेत्य चपले रे वात शश्वज्जग-
ज्जन्तूनां परिशीलके त्वयि वयं संशय्य तिष्ठामहे।
सौरभ्यं रमणीमुखेऽधिकतरं लब्धं किमम्भोरुहे
वामाङ्गे बहुगौरता च भवता दृष्टाऽथ किं चम्पके॥ ३३॥

(ह)

हेमन्ते शिशिरे च तिष्ठति हिमस्तापोपशान्त्यै क्षम-
स्त्वञ्चागच्छ तथापि वात नितरां सौख्यार्थमेवात्मनः।
कान्तस्येव तव प्रसङ्गवशतः कान्ताऽतिकान्तानना
शीत्कारं शतशो विधास्यति तनोः कम्पं च संकोचनम्॥

(क्ष)

क्षितिगतबहुपुण्यस्थानसंश्लेषशीलः
प्रततविविध वल्लीवृक्षसल्लीनदेहः।
अमरनगरनद्याः शीकरैः सिच्यमानः
पुरि पुरि पवमानः सर्वलोकं पुनातु॥ ३४॥

॥ इति श्रीदुर्गादत्तविरचितं 'वाताह्वानं' समाप्तम्॥

शैवरामायणम्

संपादिका :

डा० शैलजा पाण्डेय

शैवरामायणम्

पुरोवाक्

यावत् स्थास्यन्ति गिरयः सरितश्च महीतले।
तावद् रामायणी कथा लोकेषु प्रचरिष्यति॥

अकुण्ठश्रद्धायुतानां भारतीयानां कृते वैकुण्ठेश्वरः रामाख्यो जगदीश्वरः प्राणभूतोऽस्ति। रामपरकाः ग्रन्थाः भारतीयायाः अस्मितायाः बोधकाः सांस्कृतिकाः साहित्यिकाश्च निधयः, राष्ट्रियाः, शाश्वतमानवीयमूल्यानाञ्चोत्कृष्टाः कोषाः सन्ति। रामचरितस्य प्रभावो न केवलं साहित्येऽपितु लोकेऽपि दृश्यते। लोकगीतेषु लोकमञ्चनेषु शिल्पेषु चित्रेषु च रामचरितमनुस्यूतमस्ति। एवं रामः भारतीयसंस्कृत्याः प्रतिनिधिरस्ति। वैदेशिकानां संस्कृतिरपि रामचरितादस्पृष्टा नास्ति।

शैवरामायणामिधाना प्रकृता मातृका रामसाहित्यस्य शृङ्खला वर्तते। सम्पूर्णा कथा शिवपार्वतीसंवादेन वर्णितास्ति। रामविजयप्रसङ्गायौत्सुक्ययुतां शिवां शिवः रामेण कृतं सहस्रकण्ठवधं श्रावयति।

ग्रन्थारम्भे ग्रन्थान्ते च[१] शिवः इमां कथां रामविजयामिधानेन कथयति, किन्तु ग्रन्थान्ते, रामविजयाख्या कथा शिवप्रोक्तत्वात् शैवरामायणनाम्ना विश्रुता भविष्यति, इदमपि वर्णितमस्ति। मातृकायां कुत्रापि कस्यापि ऋषिजनस्य व्यासस्य वा उल्लेखो नास्ति। द्वादशाध्यायुता शैवरामायणस्य कथा एवमस्ति—

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१. शैवरामायण, १/६, तत्रैव, १२/३१।

कथासारः

प्रथमोऽध्यायः

एकदा कैलासशिखरे रत्नसन्नद्धपीठे समासीनः पार्वत्या पृष्टः शङ्करः तां रामविजयाख्यं सहस्रकण्ठासुरविनाशनं वर्णितवान्।

रावणवधानन्तरमयोध्यां सम्प्रातः पट्टाभिषिक्तः श्रीरामः सम्यगयोध्यामपालयत्। कालान्तरं सः भ्रातृभिः सहितोऽश्वमेधं प्रारब्धवान्। रामाज्ञया भरतशत्रुघ्नौ सेनया सह मेध्याश्वमन्वचरताम्। अश्वस्य ललाटे सौवर्णपट्टलिखितं राघवीयकं पत्रमासीत्। पत्रं दृष्ट्वा राजानः रामाज्ञानुसारं यथाशक्तिं करं दत्तवन्तः।

द्वितीयोऽध्यायः

भरतः यज्ञीयाश्वेन सह शुद्धपाथोधितीरं प्राप्य तत्रैव ससैन्यः विश्रमं कृतवान्। सिन्धुनावेष्टिते पुष्करद्वीपे चित्रवती पुरी आसीत्। तत्र दितिकश्यपयोर्बली सुतः सहस्रकण्ठः शास्ति स्म। सोऽमात्येन रक्ताक्षेण सह परिभ्रमन् सिन्धुतीरे मेध्याश्वेन सह ससैन्यं भरतं दृष्ट्वाश्वापहरणस्य निश्चयमकरोत्। रात्रिवेलायां रक्ताक्षः स्वललाटे तिलकं कृत्वा सबले भरते मत्तचूर्णं विकीर्य मायया मोहयन् मेध्याश्वं गृहीत्वा स्वपुरीं प्रत्यागतवान्। प्रभातकालेऽश्वादर्शनाद् भरतो व्याकुलो सञ्जातः। सेनया सह सः सर्वत्र मेध्याश्वस्यान्वेषणं कृतवान्। अन्ततो भरतः किञ्चिद् विचार्य लेखं शरससन्धानेनेन्द्रं प्रेषितवान्। भरतस्य लेखं प्राप्य इन्द्रो देवगुरुणा सह तत्रागत्य अश्वाहरणे आत्मनः अज्ञानं प्रादर्शयत्। बृहस्पतिः सहस्रकण्ठेनाश्वहरणस्य वृत्तान्तमुक्त्वा भरतं मेध्याश्वप्राप्तये रामसहस्रकण्ठयोर्युद्धं परामृष्टवान्।

तृतीयोऽध्यायः

भरतोक्तमश्वहरणं निशम्य श्रीरामः अन्यैः विभीषणादिनरेशैः अमात्यैः ऋषिभिश्च सह परामृष्टवान्। ऋषिः जाबालिः रामं सहस्रकण्ठस्य पूर्वजन्मचरितमुक्तवान्—कश्यपसुतः सहस्रकण्ठः राक्षसः उग्रतपसा सुरेभ्यः प्राप्तवरः त्रिलोकं विजित्य

मोक्षाय तपः कृतवान्। तस्य तपसा तुष्टो विष्णुः तमुक्तवान् यदहं मानुषावतारे त्वां रणे हत्वा शेषत्वं प्रदास्यामि, त्वं मदीयं शयनं भूत्वा मदीयं स्थानमेष्यसि। सोऽयं लब्धवरः सहस्रकण्ठोऽश्वमपहृत्य पुष्करद्वीपे तिष्ठति। भवान् तत्र ससैन्यः गत्वा रणे तं विजित्य पुनः तुरगं गृहीत्वा क्रतुं सम्पादयतु। सोऽपि सहस्रकण्ठः भवदीयवचनानुसारं मुक्तिं प्राप्य सहस्रफणः शेषः भूत्वा भवतः शय्या भविष्यति।

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

जाबालेः परामर्शानुसारं रामो भ्रातृभिः सुग्रीवादिवानरैः सबलेन विभीषणेन स्वसैन्येन सह पुष्पकमधिरुह्य चित्रवतीं पुरीं प्राप्तवान्। पुरी समुद्रेण प्राकारैश्च सुरक्षिता दुर्गमा चासीत्। हनुमान् चित्रवर्णको शुको भूत्वा सहस्रकण्ठस्य सभायां प्रविष्टो जातः। विचित्रं शुकं विलोक्य सर्वे सभासदः समुत्सुकाः जाताः। अमात्यः रक्ताक्षः शुकं, आगमनस्य स्थानं प्रयोजनं प्रेषकस्य परिचयं च पृष्टवान्। प्रयोजनं ब्रुवन् हनुमान् सहस्रकण्ठमश्वस्य प्रत्यावर्तनायापि परामृष्टवान् अन्यथा रणे रामेण तस्य मृत्युरवश्यम्भावी वर्तते इत्यपि उक्तवान्।

पञ्चमोऽध्यायः

सहस्रकण्ठः हयप्रत्यावर्तनमस्वीकुर्वन् राक्षसान् शुकग्रहणायादिष्टवान्। इदमाकर्ण्य हनुमान् शुकरूपं परित्यज्य वानररूपेण सहस्रकण्ठोपरि न्यपतत्। तस्य किरीटादीनि विकीर्य स्तम्भमेकमुत्पाट्य हनुमान् सहस्रकण्ठं ताडितवान्। राक्षसाः अपि हनुमतं प्रहृतवन्तः किन्तु हनुमान् तान् बालेन प्रताड्य रामं सम्प्राप्तः।

तदनन्तरं रामेण प्रेषिताः वानराः सहस्रकण्ठस्य राक्षसैस्सह तुमुलं युद्धवन्तः। युद्धेऽस्मिन् सहस्रकण्ठस्य प्रमुखाः वीराः वीरगतिं सम्प्राप्ताः। हतशेषाः सहस्रकण्ठं युद्धवृत्तान्तं न्यवेदयन्।

षष्ठोऽध्यायः

ततः सहस्रकण्ठः ससैन्यः रणे सम्प्राप्तो जातः। युद्धे समुपस्थितान् वानरान् गृहीत्वा सः तान् मुखस्थान् कृतवान्। ते मुखस्थाः वानराः सहस्रकण्ठस्य नासिकाकर्णयोः रन्ध्रेभ्यः निसृत्य रामं प्रत्यागतवन्तः। समरं द्रष्टुं देवदैत्यादयो ब्रह्मर्षयो महर्षयश्च विमानमारुह्यऽन्तरिक्षे आगताः। तान् विलोक्य क्रोधाविष्टो सहस्रकण्ठो दैत्यदेवादीन् गृहीत्वा भूमौ निक्षिप्तवान्। ब्रह्मर्षयो महर्षयश्च तस्य कृते तेजसः प्रभावात् दुष्प्राप्याः आसन्। ते सहस्रकण्ठं रामेण पूर्वकृतानां राक्षसविनाशानां कथाः अश्रावयन्, तञ्च मेध्याश्वं रामं प्रत्यर्पणाय परामृष्टवन्तः किन्तु सहस्रकण्ठः परामर्शं न स्वीकृतवान्।

सप्तमोऽध्यायः

सहस्रकण्ठः युद्धाय रामसैन्यमाहूतवान्, युद्धे समुपस्थितान् वानरसैनिकांश्च भक्षितवान्। स्वसैन्यं भक्षितं श्रुत्वा रामः सुग्रीवविभीषणादिप्रमुखान् पुष्पके आरोप्य सहस्र-कण्ठैः सह व्योमयुद्धमकरोत्। विभीषणसहस्रकण्ठयोर्युद्धे, विभीषणोऽचेतो भूत्वा भूमाव-पतत्। तदनन्तरं भरतादीनां सहस्रकण्ठैः सह युद्धोऽभवत्। रामस्य सेना मूर्च्छिता जाता।

अष्टमोऽध्यायः

ततः रामसहस्रकण्ठौ रणक्षेत्रे समुपस्थितवन्तौ। सहस्रकण्ठः रामं राक्षससंहारस्य पूर्वप्रसङ्गान् स्मारयन् आत्मनः गौरवं स्थापितवान्। रामः तं मुधाकथनापेक्षया युद्धायाहूतवान्। तयोः प्रथमतः शस्त्रास्त्रयुद्धः पश्चात् द्वन्द्वयुद्धश्चाभवत्।

नवमोऽध्यायः

रामसहस्रकण्ठयोः घोरयुद्धो जातः। अन्ततः श्रीरामः सहस्रकण्ठं नारायणास्त्रेण हतवान्। सहस्रकण्ठश्च मुक्तो भूत्वा सहस्रफणवता शेषरूपेण विष्णुशय्या अभवत्। देवादिकाः प्रसन्नाः जाताः। इन्द्रः रामस्योपरि पुष्पवृष्टिं तस्य सेनायाञ्चामृतवृष्टिं कृत्वा रामस्य सैनिकान् पुनरुज्जीवितान् कृतवान्।

दशमोऽध्यायः

गतप्राणं सहस्रकण्ठं विलोक्य राक्षसाः दैन्यमवाप्नुवन्। सहस्रकण्ठसूनुः पुष्कराक्षः किंकर्तव्यविमूढतां प्राप्य विभीषणस्य शरणं गतवान्। विभीषणः तेन सह रामं प्राप्तवान्। रामश्च शरणागतं पुष्कराक्षं गतभयं कृत्वा पितुः मृतकसंस्कारार्थमादिष्टवान्। संस्कारानन्तरं पुष्कराक्षस्य राज्याभिषेको जातः। पुष्कराक्षः रामं तुरगमानीय सादरं प्रत्यर्पितवान्।

एकादशोऽध्यायः

ब्रह्मा रामं परब्रह्म इव स्तुत्य दैवैस्सह स्वर्गं प्रस्थितवान्। पुष्कराक्षः रामं सम्पूज्य रत्नसिंहासनं समुपायनीकृतवान्। रामः स्वजनैः सह पुष्पके आरुह्यायोध्यां प्रस्थितवान्।

द्वादशोऽध्यायः

अयोध्यां सम्प्राप्तो रामः सीतया स्वभ्रातृभिः सह सरयूतटे यज्ञशालाः, शालासु यज्ञवेद्यश्च निर्माय्य यज्ञं सम्पादितवान्। यज्ञेऽभ्यागतानां स्वागते विभिन्नानि पेयानि

पक्वान्नानि च प्रस्तुतानि आसन्। प्रस्थानकाले रामः सर्वेषां यथार्हमर्हणं कृतवान् पुरोहितान् च प्रभूतदक्षिणाः दत्तवान्। एवं रामः शतानश्वमेधान् सम्पादितवान्। शतमेऽश्वमेधे सः वाल्मीकेराश्रमं प्रति सीतां परित्यक्तवान्। सीतायाश्च सुवर्णप्रतिमां संस्थाप्य यज्ञं कृतवान्। ततः वर्षसहस्रं पृथिवीं पालयन् पुत्रौ कुशलवौ अभिषिच्यायोध्यायां रामः दिवं प्रस्थितवान्। रामस्य पुरतः सीता धरातलं प्रविष्टा जाता। वैकुण्ठं समासाद्य सीतारामयोः मेलनं रमारूपे विष्णुरूपे चाभवत्।

कथानकस्योपजीव्यविचारः

न किमपि सर्जनं परम्परारहितं भवति। परम्परा एव विभिन्नविधासु पुष्पिता पल्लविता च भवति। शैवरामायणस्यापि कथा पारम्परीणे रामसाहित्ये समाश्रितास्ति। कथया सह लोकपरम्परापि संवलिता दृश्यते। प्रायः वीरत्वपूर्णकृत्येभ्यः लोकविश्रुतान् वीरान् परितः विविधाः मिथकाः अनुस्यूताः भवन्ति। इमाः कथाः परम्परयानुप्राणिताः भवन्त्येव, ताभिश्च सहान्याः काल्पनिकाः घटनाः अपि सम्मिश्रिताः भवन्ति। एवं शैवरामायणेऽपि दृश्यते। रामसहस्रकण्ठयोर्युद्धः अद्भुतरामायणेऽसमदेशीये कतिपये साहित्ये च प्राप्यते। शैवेऽयं संङ्ग्रामः रूपान्तरेण वर्णितोऽस्ति।

अद्भुतरामायणे रामसहस्रकण्ठकथा

कथेयमद्भुते रामायणे सप्तदशसर्गतः सप्तविंशतिसर्गपर्यन्तं वर्णितास्ति। सहस्रकण्ठः विश्रवणः कैकस्याश्च तनयः, दशाननस्य च सहोदरः आसीत्। उभौ रावणाभिधानावास्ताम्। एकदा विश्वामित्रः दशाननवधप्रसङ्गे रामं प्रशंसितवान्। सीता विहस्य सहस्रकण्ठसंज्ञकस्यापररावणस्य कथां श्रावयति स्म। पुष्करद्वीपनिवासी सहस्रकण्ठः रावणः इन्द्रादिदेवान् कारागारे कृतवान्। सहस्रकण्ठस्य वृत्तान्तं निशम्य रामः सीतया स्वबलेन च सह पुष्करं सम्प्राप्तवान्। सहस्रकण्ठः रामस्य सेनां वायव्यैः शरैः अयोध्यां प्रक्षिप्तवान्, द्वन्द्वयुद्धे च रामं हतवान्। गतप्राणं रामं विलोक्य सीता भयङ्कररूपेण सहस्रस्कन्धं तस्यानुगतान् च हत्वा विकटं नृत्यति स्म। तस्याः विकटनर्तनेन सम्पूर्णा सृष्टिः सङ्कटापन्ना जाता।[२] ब्रह्मादिदेवाः तां विरमितुं प्रार्थितवन्तः किन्तु कर्णं न दत्तवती सा तथैव नृत्यती आसीत्। अन्ततः देवाः रामं पुनरुज्जीवितं कृतवन्तः परमां शक्तिं सीताञ्च स्तुतवन्तः। ततः सीता शान्ता जाता। सीतारामौ अयोध्यां प्रत्यागतवन्तौ।

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२. 'ननर्त जानकी देवी घोरकाली महाबला।' (अद्भुतरामायण, २३/६३)

अद्भुतशैवयोः साम्यम्

१. रामायणयोः कथारम्भो दशानने मृते जाते भवति।

२. उभयोः कथानकयोः पुष्करद्वीपे सहस्रकण्ठः शास्ति स्म।

वैषम्यम्

१. शैवे सहस्रकण्ठः दितिकश्यपयोस्सुतः, अद्भुतेऽयं कैकसीविश्रवणोः जातः वर्णितोऽस्ति।

२. अद्भुतेऽयं रावणाभिधानकः, शैवे केवलं राक्षस एवं शंसितोऽस्ति।

३. अद्भुते रामस्य हन्ता सहस्रकण्ठः शैवे सहस्रकण्ठस्य हन्ता रामः उक्तः।

४. अद्भुते सीता घोरकाली शक्तिरूपा सहस्रकण्ठस्य च हन्त्री वर्तते। शैवरामायणे सीता रामस्य सहधर्मिणी पत्नी एवास्ति।

५. अद्भुते युद्धप्रयोजनं रामेण राक्षसानां विनाशोऽस्ति, शैवे तयोर्विग्रहनिमित्तं सहस्रकण्ठेन मेध्याश्वस्यापहरणमस्ति।

एवं शैवरामायणे कथायाः पात्राणि अद्भुतरामायणाद् गृहीतानि सन्ति किन्तु तयोः कथावैभिन्न्यं वर्तते।

विलङ्कारामायणे रामसहस्रकण्ठयोस्समरः

उत्कलदेशीये विलङ्कारामायणे पूर्वखण्डे रामसहस्रकण्ठयुद्धो वर्णितः।[३] दशाननवधानन्तरमभिषिक्ते जाते च बिभीषणे रामः विलङ्काधिपं सहस्रस्कन्धं सन्धिं प्रस्तौति स्म किन्तु सहस्रस्कन्धः तत्प्रस्तावमस्वीकरोत्। फलतः युद्धो जातः तस्य शक्तिप्रहारेण तौ मूर्च्छितौ जातौ। ततः सीता मनोहररूपं धारयती पुष्पधनुषि पञ्चकामशरान् सन्धाय काममोहितं सहस्रस्कन्धं हतवती।

पात्रान् विहाय इयमपि कथा शैवरामायणात् पृथगस्ति। सहस्रस्कन्धवधः सहस्रमुखरावणचरिते[४] जगतरामरायेण कृतेऽद्भुते रामायणे रामश्वेरकृतेऽद्भुते रामायणे, अद्भुताचार्येण कृते आश्चर्ये अद्भुताश्चर्ये वा रामायणे[५] विश्वम्भरकृते सहस्रस्कन्धवधे

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३. कामिल बुल्के—रामकथा, पृ० ६२३।

४. कामिल बुल्के, तत्रैव, पृ० १७६।

५. तत्रैव, पृ० २३७।

च वर्णितोऽस्ति। सहस्रस्कन्धवधे सहस्रकण्ठः विष्णुभक्तो वर्णितः। शैवेऽपि सहस्रकण्ठः विष्णुभक्तः शंसितोऽस्ति।

नागाक्षयुद्धः

असमदेशीये भवदेवविप्रकृते नागाक्षयुद्धे शैवरामायणे च कथासाम्यं किञ्चित् प्रतीयते। नागाक्षयुद्धेऽपि कथा शिवशिवासंवादेन प्रस्तुतास्ति। सीतानिर्वासनान्तरं कथा प्रारभ्यते। रावणादिब्रह्मराक्षसानां वधजातात् पापान्मोक्षार्थं रामोऽश्वमेधमनुष्ठितवान्। यज्ञार्होऽश्व पारे समुद्रं सिन्धुरानगरे आसीत्। तत्र नागाक्षो शास्ति स्म। रामः हनुमल्लक्ष्मणौ अश्वार्थं नागाक्षस्य समीपं प्रेषितवान्। नागाक्षस्य अस्वीकृतिमाकर्ण्य नागाक्षहनुमतोर्युद्धो जातः। युद्धे नागाक्षस्य गौरवं दृष्टवा हनुमान् तस्य पुर्याः समुद्रे निमज्जनायोद्यतोऽभवत्। नगररक्षणाय नागाक्षोऽश्वप्रदानाय तत्परोऽभवत्। किन्तु रामदर्शनस्याग्रहं कृतवान्। हनुमल्लक्ष्मणौ तमयोध्यां नीतवन्तौ। नागाक्षः रामस्य दर्शनं कृत्वा तं मेध्याश्वं प्रत्यर्पितवान्। एवं रामस्याश्वमेधः सम्पन्नो जातः।

इयं कथा[६] शैवरामायणीयया कथया सह सादृश्यं बिभर्ति। शैवेऽपि कथा शिवपार्वतीसंवादेन प्रस्तुतास्ति। प्रतिनायकोऽसुरः सामुद्रस्य देशस्य शासकोऽस्ति। मेध्याश्वस्य प्राप्तिनिमित्तं रामराक्षसयोर्युद्धः सञ्जातः। उभौ राक्षसौ रामभक्तौ (विष्णुभक्तौ) वर्णितौ। कथा रामविजये पर्यवसिता जाता।

अत्र निश्चेतुं काठिन्यमस्ति, का कथा कया प्रभाविता जाता। उभयोः कथानकयोः साम्यं सांयोगिकं भवेत्।

शैवरामायणे वाल्मीकेः प्रभावः

शैवरामायणे कतिपयप्रसङ्गेषु वाल्मीकिरामायणस्य प्रभावो परिलक्ष्यते। ते प्रसङ्गाः अधोवर्णिताः सन्ति।

सुरसाप्रसङ्गः

वाल्मीकिरामायणे सुन्दरकाण्डे देवैः प्रेषिता नागमाता सुरसा हनुमतः विवेकपरीक्षार्थं तं भक्षितुमुद्यतासीत्। हनुमान् तामादरयन् अतिलघुरूपेण तस्याः मुखे प्रविश्य तत्क्षणं बहिर्भूत्वा तां प्रणमत।[७]

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६. कृष्णनारायण प्रसाद मागध, असमप्रान्तीय राम साहित्य, पृ० २७७/२७८।

७. वाल्मीकिरामायण, सुन्दर०, १/१४४-१७९।

शैवरामायणे रणे सम्प्राप्तः सहस्रकण्ठः रामस्य वानरान् भक्षितवान्। ते वानराः तस्य नासिकाकर्णयोः रन्ध्रेभ्यः बहिरागत्य रामं सम्प्राप्तवन्तः।[८]

रावणीया सभा

रामदूतो हनुमान् रावणपुत्रेण रावणसभायां प्रस्तुतोऽक्रियत। रावणः अमात्यान् हनुमतः परिचयमागमनप्रयोजनञ्च प्रष्टुमादिष्टवान्।[९] हनुमतः परिचयमागमनप्रयोजनं[१०] सीतायाः प्रत्यावर्तनस्य परामर्शञ्च निशम्य रावणः स्वानुचरान् तं हन्तुमादिष्टवान्।[११] विभीषणः बुद्धिकौशलेन रावणं निवारितवान् तथापि हनुमतः पुच्छः प्रज्वालितो जातः। हनुमान् संदहता लाङ्गूलेन राक्षसान् ताडितवान्,[१२] लङ्काञ्च दग्धवान्।

शैवरामायणे हनुमान् शुकं भूत्वा रामस्य दौत्यमुद्वहन् सहस्रकण्ठस्य सभाया-मुपस्थितो जातः। रक्ताक्षेणामात्येन दृष्टः पृष्टश्च हनुमान् तमात्मनः परिचयमागमन-कारणञ्चोक्तवान्। सहस्रकण्ठः स्वानुचरान् तं ग्रहीतुमादिष्टवान् किन्तु हनुमान् तस्योपरि न्यपतत्, तस्य किरीटादीनि भूमौ न्यक्षिपत्, तस्यानुचरान् च लाङ्गूलेनाताडयत्।[१३]

शुकसारणप्रसङ्गः

रावणः रामस्य बलं ज्ञातुं गुप्तचरौ शुकसारणौ पक्षिरूपिणौ[१४] सम्प्रेषितवान्। अमू वानरौ भूत्वा रामबले प्रविष्टौ जातौ।[१५] किन्तु विभीषणः तावभिज्ञातवान्।

शैवे हनुमान् शुको भूत्वा सहस्रकण्ठस्य सभायां प्रविष्टोऽभवत्[१६]। स्यात्, प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् वाल्मीकिरामायणस्य प्रभावो भवेत्। तत्र शुकसारणौ खगरूपं विहाय वानररूपेण शत्रुमध्ये गतवन्तौ, शैवे हनुमान् वानररूपं परित्यज्य पक्षिरूपेण शत्रुमध्ये गतवान्।

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८. शैवरामायण, ६/५-६।
९. वाल्मीकिरामायण, सुन्दर० ४८/६०-६१।
१०. तत्रैव, ५०/१८-१९।
११. तत्रैव, ५२/१।
१२. तत्रैव, ५३/८।
१३. शैव०, ५।
१४. वाल्मीकिरामायण, युद्ध०, २५/२५-२८।
१५. तत्रैव, २५/९।
१६. शैव०, ४/७, ८, १०।

मृत्योरनन्तरं शत्रुतासमाप्तिः

वाल्मीकिरामायणे प्रसङ्गद्वये बालिवधे रावणवधे च श्रीरामः वैरिणः मृत्योरनन्तरं तं प्रति शत्रुभावं परित्यज्य तस्य मरणस्यादरं करोति स्म। बालिवधानन्तरं तस्य पत्नीं पुत्रञ्च समाश्वास्य मृतस्य संस्कारार्थमादिष्टवान्।[१७] एवं रावणप्रसङ्गेऽपि दृश्यते।[१८]

शैवे सहस्रकण्ठस्य मृत्योः पश्चात् रामः तस्य पुत्रं समाश्वास्य मृतकं संस्कर्तुमादिष्टवान्।[१९] रामाज्ञया भरतः सहस्रकण्ठस्य दुःखितं स्त्रीजनं समाश्वस्तवान्।[२०]

वैरिवधानन्तरं तस्य सन्ततिं प्रति वात्सल्यम्

वाल्मीकिरामायणे आसन्नमृत्युः बालिः स्वतनयमङ्गदं रामस्य शरणे कृतवान्।[२१] रामः शरणागतमङ्गदं सहर्षं स्वीकृतवान्।

शैवे भीत सहस्रकण्ठसुतः पुष्कराक्षो विभीषणपरामर्शेन रामस्य शरणागतोऽभवत्। रामः शरण्यं पुष्कराक्षमभयं दत्तवान्।[२२]

एवं शैवरामायणे वाल्मीकिरामायणस्य प्रभावो बाहुल्येन दृश्यते।

भरतस्येन्द्रविषयिणी आशङ्का

अपहृते जाते मेध्याश्वे इन्द्रं प्रति सन्देहं भरतो व्यनक्ति स्म। इन्द्राय पत्रप्रेषणे भरतस्यायमेवाशयो प्रतीयते।[२३] प्रसङ्गोऽयं पुराणप्रभावितोऽस्ति। इन्द्रो यज्ञे विघ्नमुत्पादयितुं पृथोः[२४] सगरस्य[२५] दिलीपस्य[२६] च मेध्याश्वमपहृतवान्। अतः प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् भरतस्य इन्द्रे सन्देहः स्वाभाविकोऽस्ति।

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१७. वाल्मीकिरामायण, किष्किन्धा०, २५/१३।

१८. तत्रैव, युद्ध० १०९/९२।

१९. शैव०, १०/११।

२०. तत्रैव, १०/२०।

२१. वाल्मीकिरामायण, २२/१५।

२२. शैव०, १०/१०।

२३. तत्रैव, २/११-१२।

२४. भागवतपुराण, ४/१९।

२५. ब्रह्मपुराण, ७८।

शैवरामायणस्य कथावैशिष्ट्यम्

शैवरामायणस्य प्रतिपाद्योऽस्ति सहस्रकण्ठे रामविजयः। इदमाख्यानं विविधे रामसाहित्ये दृष्टिपथमायाति। शैवरामायणी कथा सर्वासु रामकथासु विशिष्टा वैविध्ययुता चास्ति। अस्याः कथा अन्यत्र न दृश्यते।

रामायणस्यास्य प्रथमं वैशिष्ट्यं रामसहस्रकण्ठयोर्विग्रहस्य निमित्तमस्ति। कस्यामपि रामकथायां सहस्रकण्ठेन मेध्याश्वस्यापहरणं निमित्तरूपेण वर्णितं नास्ति, अपितु रामः प्रभुत्वस्थापनाय सहस्रकण्ठेन सह युद्धमकरोत्। शैवे तयोः युद्ध-निमित्तमश्वापहरणं शंसितम्। इदमधिकयुक्तियुतं कारणमस्ति।

शैवरामायणस्यापरं वैशिष्ट्यं सहस्रकण्ठस्याहन्तुर्विषये वर्तते। प्रायेण सहस्रकण्ठवधः सीतया वर्णितोऽस्ति। शैवे सहस्रकण्ठो रामेण हतो वर्णितः। अत्रेदमाख्यानं 'रामविजयः' इति प्रोक्तमन्यत्र सहस्रकण्ठविनाशनं सीतायाः विजयकथा वर्तते। सम्भवतः तेषु आख्यानेषु स्त्रीविग्रहं दिव्यशक्त्याः अधिष्ठानं कृत्वा शक्तिरूपिण्या सीतया सहस्रकण्ठवधो वर्णितोऽस्ति।

सहस्रकण्ठस्य मृत्योरनन्तरं सहस्रफणयुते शेषे परिणतिः, तस्य विष्णोः शयनभवनं शैवरामायणस्यापरं वैशिष्ट्यमस्ति। कथेयमन्यत्र नास्ति अपितु शैवरामायणस्योद्भावनास्ति। परम्परानुसारं लक्ष्मणः शेषावतारोऽस्ति।[२७] शेषस्य कस्यापि असुरेण सह सम्बन्धो नास्ति। पुनश्च शेषोऽनन्तनामा, विष्णुशयनरूपेणास्य सत्ता सृष्टेः प्रागपि आसीत्। विष्णोः रामावतारः त्रेतायुगे जातः। रामस्य वीरत्वपूर्णकृत्येन विष्णुः शय्यायुतो जातः, इदं युक्तियुतं न प्रतीयते। स्यात् शेषस्योद्भवप्रसङ्गे कस्य स्थानविशेषस्येयं लोककथा भवेत्।[२८] प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् राक्षसस्य सहस्रग्रीवता शेषस्य सहस्रफणत्वमवधेयमस्ति। अत्र मुखेषु संख्यासादृश्यं ध्यानमाकर्षति।

यथा सहस्रकण्ठस्य शेषत्वं तथैव हनुमतः चित्राङ्गशुकत्वं शैवरामायणस्य मौलिकाभिव्यक्तिरस्ति। अन्यत्र कुत्रापि हनुमतः शुकरूपेण दौत्यं न दृश्यते। खगानां दौत्यं परवर्तिसाहित्येषु, यथा नैषधीयचरिते हंसस्य दौत्यं, हिन्दीभाषायां जायसीकृते पद्मावते हीरामनशुकस्य दौत्यं प्राप्यते। लोककथास्वपि विहगदौत्यं श्रूयते।

शैवरामायणमन्यरामायणापेक्षया पश्चवर्ती प्रतीयते। एतत्पूर्वं वाल्मीकिरामायणं, वसिष्ठरामायणम् (योगवासिष्ठम्), अगस्त्यप्रोक्तं रामायणमद्भुतरामायणञ्च विश्रुतानि

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२६. पद्मपुराण, उत्तरखंड, २०/१२-४२, रघुवंश, ३/३-६७।

२७. द्विपदरामायण (तेलुगु), ६/१११-११३, कामिलबुल्केनोद्धृतम्, पृ० ५७३।

२८. मतमिदं—विद्यापीठस्य प्राचार्येभ्यः सम्प्राप्तमस्ति।

आसन्।[२९] इयं रामायणी कथा शैवरामायणमिति सम्बोधनात्पूर्वं रामविजयनाम्ना विश्रुतासीत्।[३०]

रामविजयाख्याने रामस्य सहस्रकण्ठे विजयोवर्णित:। अस्मात्पूर्वं रामकथासु सहस्रकण्ठे सीताविजय: प्रोक्त: आसीत्, तत्र रामस्य सहस्रकण्ठेन पराभवो वर्णित: इदं प्रतीयते, एकेन राक्षसेन, भवतु स: अतीवबलवानं सहस्रकण्ठयुत:, देवावतारस्य लोकोत्तरचरितस्य रामस्य पराभवचिन्तनमपि लोकेऽग्राह्यमासीत्। अत: शैवे रामसहस्रकण्ठयोर्युद्ध: एवं वर्णितो जात: येन रामस्य दिव्यता, पूजनीयता प्रतिष्ठा च सुरक्षिता भवेत्, अपरञ्च रामावतारस्य लक्ष्यं राक्षसविनाशोऽपि पूर्णतामवाप्नुयात्। एवं राक्षसीषु शक्तिषु दिव्यशक्तीनां विजय: शैवरामायणस्य प्रमुखप्रतिपाद्योऽस्ति।

शैवरामायणस्यारम्भ: उपसंहृतिश्च अश्वमेधेन सम्पद्यते। ग्रन्थोऽयमश्वमेधयज्ञस्य पूर्णाहुत्या पूर्णतां प्राप्नोति। रामस्याश्वमेध: विविधग्रन्थेषु वर्णितोऽस्ति[३१] किन्तु कथानकसदृश: अस्य यज्ञीयप्रकरणमपि अन्येभ्यो भिन्नमस्ति। शैवरामायणानुसारं राम: शताश्वमेधमनुष्ठितवान्। तेषु नवतिनवयज्ञेषु सीता स्वयमेवोपस्थितासीत् शतमेऽश्वमेधे राम: सीतां वाल्मीकेराश्रमं प्रति परित्यक्तवान्, तस्या: स्थाने च सुवर्णप्रतिकृतिं कृत्वा यज्ञं सम्पादितवान्।[३२] प्राय: सर्वत्र सीतापरित्यागोऽश्वमेधात् पूर्वमेव वर्णितोऽस्ति। शैवानुसारं शतमेश्वमेधेऽर्थात् वनवासात् सीतारामयो: अयोध्याप्रत्यावर्तनस्य दीर्घकालानन्तरं सीतापरित्याग: तर्कसङ्गत: न प्रतीयते। स्यात्, ग्रन्थकर्ता परम्परानिर्वहणाय एव सीतापरित्यागं वर्णितवान्।

रामाश्वमेधानां शतसंख्या आनन्दरामायणानन्तरं शैवरामायणे एव दृश्यते। वाल्मीकिरामायणे दशाश्वमेधानां वर्णनमस्ति।[३३]

एवं वर्षसहस्रमयोध्यां पालयन् रामो लवकुशावभिषिच्य भ्रातृभि: पुरवासिभिश्च वैकुण्ठं प्रस्थितवान्। सीता तस्य पुरत: एव धरातलं प्रविश्य वैकुण्ठं प्राप्तवती। वैकुण्ठे तयो: सम्मेलेन सह शैवरामायणस्य सुखान्ता परिणतिर्भवति।

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२९. शैव०, ६/१६-१९

३०. तत्रैव, १/५, १२/३३।

३१. वाल्मीकि०, उत्तर०, ३७-४०; आनन्दरामा०, यागकाण्ड; अध्यात्मरामा०, उत्तर० ६-७ सर्ग; अग्निपुराण, १०/३३; पद्मपुराण, पातालखण्ड; रामाश्वमेधीयम्, जैमिनीयाश्वमेध ३९ आदि।

३२. शैव०, १२/२५-२६।

३३. आनन्दरामा०, जन्मकाण्ड, ४; वाल्मीकिरामा०, युद्ध०, १२८/९५।

शैवरामायणस्य पुराकथा

शैवरामायणस्य कथा परम्परया प्राप्ता रामकथासदृशा देवदानवयोः सङ्घर्षगाथा वर्तते। सङ्ग्रामोऽयं सृष्टिकालादेव प्रचलति। देवानां, प्रायः विष्णोः, अवताराणां परमप्रयोजनं साधूनां परित्राणं दुष्कृतानाञ्च विनाशोऽस्ति। सदसत्शक्त्योः विरोधस्याविच्छिन्ना परम्परा काले काले देवावतारैः दान्ता भवति किन्तु अस्याः समूलोत्खातोऽसम्भवोऽस्ति। अतो युगे युगे देवानां पृथिव्यामवतरणस्यावश्यकता सर्वदा भवति। देवासुरसङ्ग्रामाणां वर्णनं वेदपुराणयोः बाहुल्येन परिलक्ष्यते।

वेदेषु राक्षसाः

अदेवशक्तिषु राक्षसाः मनुष्याणां प्रबलतमाः निकटतमाश्च शत्रवस्सन्ति। अकालमृत्युरोगदुःखहानयः राक्षसानां प्रभावात् भवन्ति। मनुष्याणामस्माद्रक्षणं सदैवापेक्षणीयं भवति।[३४] यातुधानपदः राक्षसस्य पर्यायोऽस्ति[३५] यस्यार्थः 'यातुः यातना पीडा तद्वतां यातुधानानाम्'[३६] भवति। स्वभावतया राक्षसाः क्रूराः घोराः[३७] अतृप्ताः[३८] कल्याणहन्तारः[३९] देवविरोधिनः[४०] अघशंसकाः[४१] यज्ञविरोधिनश्च[४२] सन्ति।

रामकथासु राक्षसाः, राक्षसाधिपाश्च

आकृत्याः प्रकृत्याश्च राक्षसानां सुस्पष्टवर्णनं रामायणे वर्तते। रामकथासु राक्षसाधिपाः प्रायेण रावणसंज्ञकाः आसन्। एवं बहवो रावणाः सञ्जाताः। तेषु दशाननं विहाय (शैवानुसारं सहस्रकण्ठमपि) अन्येषां राक्षसेशानां संहारः सीतया वर्णितोऽस्ति। सम्भवतः शक्त्यातिशयात् रावणानां संहारः आदिशक्त्या सीताख्यया वर्णितोऽस्ति।

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३४. निरुक्त, ४/१८; वाचस्पत्यम् (६) पृ० ४७८७; शब्दकल्पद्रुम (४), पृ० ७९ आदि।
३५. ऋग्वेद, १/३५/१०; वाजसनेयी ११/४९, ३४/३६; अमरकोश, १/१/५९, ६०; हलायुधकोश, १/७३।
३६. ऋग्वेद, ८/६०/२०, सायणभाष्य।
३७. तत्रैव, ७/१०४/२।
३८. अथर्ववेद, २/२४/२।
३९. ऋग्वेद, ७/१०४/९।
४०. तत्रैव, १/२७/३, ३७/३।
४१. तत्रैव, ७/१०४/२, ४, १४।
४२. ऋग्वेद, १०/८७/८; तैत्तिरीयसंहिता, ६/१/८/३; वाज० १/१९ आदि।

रावणानां बहुग्रीवत्वम्

आकृतिवैशिष्ट्ये रावणानां बहुकण्ठत्वं बहुशीर्षत्वं वा प्रमुखोऽस्ति। सर्वाधिकशीर्षयुतो रावण: लक्षशीर्ष: आसीत्, यस्य हन्त्री सीता कालीरूपा[४३] रामो[४४] वासीत्। गुणभद्रकृते उत्तरे पुराणे रावणस्य परम्परा एवमस्ति—सहस्रग्रीव:, शतग्रीव:, पञ्चाशद्ग्रीव:, पुलस्त्य: दशग्रीवश्च। सङ्घदासेन क्रम: एवं वर्णित:बलि: सहस्रग्रीव:, पञ्चशतग्रीव: शतग्रीव:, पञ्चाशद्ग्रीव:, विंशतिग्रीव: दशग्रीवश्च। दशग्रीव: विंशतिग्रीवस्य सूनु: आसीत्।[४५]

शैवे बहव: रावणा: दशग्रीव:[४६] पाताललङ्कााया: शतग्रीव:[४७] शाकद्वीपस्य शतकन्धर:[४८] अद्भुतरामायणस्य रावणश्च वर्णिता:[४९] सन्ति। पुष्करद्वीपेश: काश्यपेय: सहस्रकण्ठ: (रावण:) शैवरामायणस्य प्रतिनायकोऽस्ति।

रावणानां बहुशीर्षत्वे तेषां पराक्रमेण सह सृष्टिविकासोऽपि प्रच्छन्नोऽस्ति। सृष्ट्या: उन्मेषकाले पृथिव्यां पिशिताशनानां भीमकायजीवानां बाहुल्यमासीत्। अस्तित्वरक्षार्थं मानवानामेतैस्सह सततसङ्घर्षोऽभवत्। अधुना वैज्ञानिका: अपि उपर्युक्तमतं सम्पुष्टं कुर्वन्ति।

वेदोक्ता: पिशितासना: क्रव्याद:[५०] रामायणानुसारं राक्षसा: आसन् ये तपोरतान् ऋषीन् हत्वाभक्षयन्। शनै: शनै: मानवा: तान् विजित्य, क्षीणबलान् च कृत्वा स्वयं शक्तिमन्तो जाता:। रामावतारे सङ्घर्षोऽयं चरमोत्कर्षमवाप्नोतिति स्म।[५१] क्षीणबले जाते राक्षससमुदाये रावणानां शीर्षा: अपि अल्पसंख्यका: जाता:। पूर्वकाले राक्षसाधिप: लक्षशीर्ष: आसीत्। कालक्रमेण ते क्रमश: सहस्रग्रीव:, पञ्चशतग्रीव: शतग्रीव:, पञ्चाशद्ग्रीव:, विंशतिग्रीव: अन्ततो दशग्रीव: सञ्जाता:। तेषां शीर्षसंख्या ह्रासोन्मुखा जाता। रावणानां परम्परासु दशानन: सम्भवत: अन्तिम: आसीत्। तेनैव सह राक्षसी शक्ति: क्षयं गता। युद्धे शिष्टा: राक्षसा: आर्याणां प्रभुत्वं स्वीकुर्वन्ति स्म।

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४३. विलङ्कारामायण, उत्तरखण्ड (कामिलबुल्केनोद्धृतम्, पृ० ६२४)।
४४. कामिलबुल्के, रामकथा, पृ० २४१/
४५. तत्रैव, पृ० ६२९।
४६. शैव० ६/१६।
४७. तत्रैव, ६/१७।
४८. तत्रैव, ६/१८।
४९. तत्रैव, ६/१९।
५०. ऋग्वेद, ७/१०४/२, १०/८७/१४।
५१. वाल्मीकिरमायण, अरण्य०, ६/१५-२०, २९/१२ आदि।

सृष्ट्याः विकासे जीवानां शक्ततरत्वम् अन्ततः पूर्णविकसितस्य शक्तिमतः मनुष्यस्य कल्पना पौराणिके दशावतारेऽपि विलोक्यते। सृष्ट्याः प्रथमचरणे जलचरावतारः मत्स्यावतारः जातः। पुनः जले स्थले च समानगतिकः कूर्मः, प्रथम स्थलजीवो वराहः, मनुष्यपशुसम्मिश्रोऽवतारः नृसिंहः, प्रथमो मानवातारो वामनः, पूर्णविकसिताः बलवन्तो मानवावतारा: परशुरामरामबलरामा: करुणावतारो बुद्धश्च शंसिताः सन्ति।[५२] पुनः देवविरोधिशक्तीनां क्रूरस्वभावानामभ्युदयो भवति। तेषां दमनाय क्रूरमानवावतारः कल्किः अवतरति। सृष्टिविकासस्येयं प्रक्रिया दीर्घकाले सम्पन्ना भवति। कालोऽयं चतुर्युगात्मको वर्णितः।

शैवरामायणे वर्णितानि प्रमुखपात्राणि

रामः

शैवरामायणे नायको राम ज्येष्ठो दाशरथिः विष्णोः अवतारो वर्णितः। रामायणेऽस्मिन् रामोऽयोध्यानरेशोऽस्ति अतोऽत्र तस्य जीवनचरितस्योत्तरार्धं वर्णितमस्ति।

विष्णोरंशो रामो विष्णोरपेक्षया शक्तितरः प्रतीयते। विष्णुना प्राप्तवरस्य सहस्रग्रीवस्य मोक्षरूपिणी वरप्राप्तिः रामेण भवति न तु विष्णुना। अपि च विष्णुः रामस्य पराक्रमेण शय्यां प्राप्नोति। परम्परानुसारं विष्णुः सृष्ट्याः प्रागापि शेषशय्यागतः आसीत्। एवमंशभूतो रामो विष्णोरपेक्षयाधिकसामर्थ्ययुतो ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् प्रतिभाति।[५३]

सहस्रकण्ठः

शैवरामायणस्यापरो प्रमुखपात्रं प्रतिनायकः सहस्रकण्ठः पुष्करद्वीपेशो दितिकश्यपयोर्तनयः यज्ञविरोधी मायावी राक्षसोऽस्ति। सोऽभिमानी शूरः युद्धक्षेत्रे नारायणमपि सम्मुखं प्राप्य युद्धात् पराङ्मुखो न भवति।

रणपण्डितः शस्त्रे मल्ले च पारङ्गतः सहस्रकण्ठः स्थले गगने च समभावेन युद्धे समर्थोऽस्ति।[५४] मल्लयुद्धे बाहुवेष्टितं सहजेन न परित्यजति।[५५] रामसन्निभः सोऽपि मल्लयुद्धस्य विभिन्नगतिषु कुशलः शंसितः।[५६]

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५२. बलदेव उपाध्याय, पुराणविमर्श, पृ० १७७-१७८।

५३. मतमिदं डॉ० गयाचरणत्रिपाठिमहाभागेभ्यः (प्राचार्य, गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयविद्यापीठ, इलाहाबाद) प्राप्तमस्ति।

५४. शैव०, ८/१९।

५५. तत्रैव, ७/१२।

५६. तत्रैव, ८/१७।

राक्षसोऽपि सहस्रकण्ठः मुमुक्षुः विष्णुभक्तः, विष्णुः स्वयं तस्य तपसा सन्तुष्य तस्मै मोक्षस्य विष्णुपदस्य वरं दत्तवान्।[५७]

सहस्रकण्ठः सहस्रफणयुतः शेषश्च

सहस्रफणयुतस्य शेषस्य मूले सहस्रकण्ठस्य स्थितिः शैवरामायणस्य मौलिकी उद्भावनास्ति। उभयोः मुखानां संख्यासादृश्यं वर्तते। इदमपि सम्भवेत्, संख्यासादृश्यं मिथकस्याधारभूमिः भवेत्।

शेषसहस्रकण्ठयोः इदं वैभिन्यमस्ति यत् शेषो देवतास्ति। अस्य विष्णुना विष्णोः अवतारैश्च सह सङ्घर्ष कुत्रापि न दृश्यते, अपितु रामावतारे कृष्णावतारे च तस्य लक्ष्मणरूपेण बलरामरूपेण च सर्वेषु कार्येषु सायुज्यभागस्ति। शेषस्यास्तित्वं सृष्ट्या प्रागपि भवति। अस्य समापनं कुत्रापि न वर्णितमस्ति। सृष्टिकालेऽयं पृथिवीं स्तभनाति। किन्तु सहस्रकण्ठोऽनादिरनन्तो नास्ति।

सहस्रकण्ठस्य सर्पत्वम्

सहस्रकण्ठस्य मृत्योरनन्तरं सर्पत्वे परिणतिः सहसा न जाता। सर्पाणां गुणाः तस्य राक्षसविग्रहेऽपि आसन्।

क. सर्पाणां जलैस्सह सम्बन्धः

सर्पाणां जलैः जलसिक्तक्षेत्रैस्सहघनिष्ठ सम्बन्धो दृश्यते।[५८] लोके वर्षर्तौ सर्पाः आधिक्येन परिलक्षिताः भवन्ति। वेदेषु वृत्रो यस्याभिधानमहिरपि वर्तते, जलाच्छादकः सर्प इव वर्णितोऽस्ति, पुराणप्रसिद्धस्य कालियनागस्य वासो यमुनाह्रदे आसीत्। सहस्रकण्ठस्य राजधानीं परितः समुद्रः आसीत्। जलीये देशे आवासचयनं सहस्रकण्ठस्य सर्पत्वं प्रकटयति।

ख. निगरणम्

सर्पाः आखेटानां निगरणं कुर्वन्ति। नागमाता सुरसा हनुमतं निगीर्णवती। सहस्रकण्ठोऽपि युद्धे समुपस्थितान् वानरान् गृहीत्वा निगीर्णवान्।

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५७. तत्रैव, ३/१८-२०।
५८. इनसाइक्लोपीडिया आफ रिलीजन एण्ड एथिक्स, भाग ११, पृ० ३९९, ४०८।

ग. आवेष्टनम्

भोगैरावेष्टनं सर्पाणामन्यतमो धर्मोऽस्ति। बलशालिनः एव एषामावेष्टनात् मुक्ताः भवन्ति। सहस्रकण्ठो विभीषणं युद्धे सर्प इव समावेष्टितवान्।

एवं सहस्रकण्ठे सर्पाणां धर्माः स्फुटतां गच्छन्ति।

सर्पैस्सह वीराणां युद्धः

सर्पवीरयोर्युद्धो विश्वस्य सर्वासु पुराकथासु दृश्यते। अतिप्राचीनोऽयं संघर्षो वेदपुराणयोः नैकशः प्राप्यते।

इन्द्रवृत्रसङ्घर्षः

सङ्घर्षोऽयं वेदेषु पुराणेषु च बहुधा वर्णितोऽस्ति। संहितासु, विशेषतः ऋग्वेदे सङ्घर्षोऽयं वीरसर्पयोरासीत्। वृत्रो जलावरोधकः सर्पोऽसुरः आसीत् यं हत्वा इन्द्रो जलान् प्रवाहायोन्मुक्तवान्।[५९] वृत्रो हस्तपादरहितः[६०] स्वनं कुर्वन्[६१] शिथिलाङ्गो, भोगेषु अतृप्तः, सपर्णशीलो, जलावरकः[६२] अहिः[६३] आसीत्। ऋग्वेदे वर्णितो वृत्रः अवेस्तावर्णितेन 'अज़ि'—संज्ञकेन सह तुलनीयः। अज़िः अश्वभक्षकः पीतवर्णकः जीवः आसीत् यः आजानुं विषं वमन्नासीत्[६४] इन्द्रः अस्य शिरः वज्रेणाभिनत्।[६५] अनयोर्युद्धः ऋग्वेदे विशदेन वर्णितोऽस्ति।[६६]

कृष्णेन कालियदमनम्

कालिन्दीकूले कन्दुकेन क्रीडता व्रजकिशोरेण कृष्णेन कालियनागो सम्पीडित इति पुराणेषु विश्रुतमस्ति।[६७] अयमपि सर्पवीरयोर्युद्धः आसीत्।

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५९. ऋग्वेद, १/३२/१।

६०. तत्रैव, १/३२/७।

६१. तत्रैव, १/५२/१०।

६२. तत्रैव, ४/१९/३।

६३. तत्रैव, १/३२/१, २, ५, ८, १३ आदि।

६४. सिद्धनाथशुक्ल—ऋग्वैदिक अहि और अवेस्तन अज़ि, शोधपत्रिका, साहित्य संस्थान, राजस्थान, १९७०, पृ० ३५।

६५. ऋग्वेद, १/५२/६, १०।

६६. तत्रैव, १/३२, १/५२, ४/१९ आदि।

६७. भागवत०, १०/१६, १७; विष्णु०, ५/७, हरिवंश०, विष्णुपर्व ५/७ आदि।

गरुडाद् भीतः विषधरः कालियसर्पः समुद्रं विहाय यमुनायां न्यवसत्। अस्य विषैः यमुना विषाक्ता जाता। यमुनातटे गोपालैः सह क्रीडतः कृष्णाच्च्युतं कन्दुकं जले पतितम्। तमानेतुं कृष्णः जले प्रविष्टोऽभवत्। तत्र निवसन् एकाधिकशतशीर्षो विषधरः कालियः[६८] तं भोगेन दृढमावेष्टितवान्।[६९] कृष्णः तस्यावेष्टनं शिथिलीकृत्य[७०] तस्य फणेषु पादप्रहारं कृतवान् नृत्तवान् च।[७१] एवं नृत्यता कृष्णेन दलितो नागः मुखेभ्यः रक्तवमनं कृत्वा[७२] अन्ततः पराजयं स्वीकृत्य यमुनां विहायान्यत्र गतवान्।

दैवैः वास्तुपुरुषदमनम्

इयं कथा प्रमुखतया मत्स्यपुराणे प्राप्यते।[७३] वधे जातेऽन्धकासुरे शिव-ललाटोद्भूतस्वेदेभ्यः उल्बणो भूतोऽजायत्। सो भूतः त्रैलोक्यग्रसनायोद्यतः आसीत्। यदा सः पृथिवीं ग्रसितुमधोमुखो जातः, तस्मिन्नेव क्षणे देवाः तस्योपरि आरूढाः जाताः। तञ्च स्तब्धं कृतवन्तः। सो बुभुक्षितोऽसुरः तृप्त्यर्थं तेभ्यः अयाचत्। देवाः तं वसनात् वास्तुः इति कृत्वा गृहपूजने भागाय अधिकृतवन्तः। सोऽयं वास्तुपुरुषः नागवास्तुरूपेण अपि शंसितोऽस्ति। नागवास्तोः उपरि आरूढाः देवाः सर्पराक्षसदमनं सूचयन्ति।

जनमेजयस्य सर्पयज्ञः

महाभारते वर्णितेऽस्मिन्नाख्याने वीरसर्पयोः सङ्घर्षस्य यज्ञीयस्वरूपः प्राप्यते। परीक्षिततनयो जनमेजयः स्वजनकस्य मृत्योः कारणं तक्षकदंशनं निशम्य प्रतिशोधप्रेरितः सन् सर्पसत्रमनुष्ठितवान्। यज्ञकुण्डे असंख्यकाः सर्पाः वेगेनागत्य पतितवन्तः। भीतः तक्षकः इन्द्रस्य, वासुकिश्च स्वभागिनेयस्यास्तीकस्य शरणागतौ अभवताम्। इन्द्रास्तीकयोः प्रयासेन सर्पयज्ञः शमितो जातः।[७४]

वैदेशिकासु पुराकथासु वीरसर्पयोयुद्धः

वीराणां सर्पैः सर्पराक्षसैर्वा सह युद्धः भारतेतरपुराकथास्वपि प्राप्यते। तेषु कतिपयप्रमुखाः पुराकथाः एवं सन्ति।

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६८. भागवत०, १०/१६/२८।
६९. तत्रैव, १०/१६/१०।
७०. तत्रैव, १०/१६/२३।
७१. तत्रैव, १०/१६/२६।
७२. तत्रैव, १०/१६/३०।
७३. मत्स्य०, २५२/१-१४; तुलनीय अग्नि० ४०/१; विष्णुधर्मोत्तर० ३/९५; बृहत्संहिता ५३/२, ३ आदि।
७४. महाभारत, आदिपर्व, १३-१४।

तियामतमरडूकयोर्युद्धः

बेबिलोनदेशीयेऽस्मिन्नाख्याने तियामतसंज्ञकया सर्पिण्या सह मरडूकसंज्ञको वीरो युद्धं कृतवान्। तियामतामिधाना सर्पिणी सृष्टिकाले जलानां शासिका मातृदेवी शंसिता। तस्याः कुले मरडूकः प्राभवत्। मरडूकस्य जननी ईया तियामतदेवीं पराभूय तस्याः पतिम् आप्सूं हतवती। ईयायाः क्रुद्धा तियामतदेवी विषधरान् सर्पदैत्यान् प्रसूतवती। तस्या षडयन्त्रं ज्ञात्वा देवाः मरडूकं नायकं कृतवन्तः। सशस्त्रः मरडूकः झञ्झावातातिवृष्टिसाहाय्येन जले निवसतीं तियामतदेवीं संक्षोभ्य युद्धायाहूतवान्। सा मरडूकं निगरणाय मुखं विस्फारितवती। तस्मिन्नेव क्षणे झञ्झावाताः तस्याः उदरे प्रविष्टवन्तः येन सा उत्फुल्ला जाता। मरडूकः तस्याः उदरे मर्मस्थले च हत्वा, शीर्षं चूर्णीकृत्य तां द्विधा विभक्तवान्।[७५] एवं वीरमरडूकेन दैत्यजनन्याः तियामतसर्पिण्याः अन्तो जातः।

टायफूनज्यूसयोर्युद्धः

यावन्यां पुराकथायां टायफूनसंज्ञकः शक्तिमान् सर्पः शंसितः यस्मात् देवाः अपि भयाक्रान्ताः आसन्। कारीशियनगुहायां जातः पृथिव्याः कनिष्ठः सुतः टायफूनः भयानकतमः आसीत्। अस्य स्कन्धतः जघनतश्च भुजरूपाः पादरूपाश्चासंख्याकाः सर्पाः ज्वालमुखाः फूत्कुर्वन्ति स्म। ज्वालमुखोऽग्निनेत्र टायफूनः सर्पसन्निभैः बाहुभिः जीवान् गृहीत्वा भक्षयति स्म। भयाक्रान्ताः देवाः आवासान् परित्यज्य पलायितवन्तः। ज्यूसः टायफूनेन बन्दीकृतः। देवाः येन केन प्रकारेण ज्यूसं कारामुक्तं कृतवन्तः। दिव्यैः भोज्यपेयादिभिश्च अर्जितशक्तिः वज्री ज्यूसः अश्वारूढो भूत्वा टायफूनेन सह युद्धमकरोत्। भीषणयुद्धेन रक्तरञ्जितः टायफूनः सिसलीदेशं पलायितो जातः। ज्यूसः तस्योपरि एटनापर्वतं निक्षिप्तवान् येन टायफूनः भूमिगतोऽभवत्। अद्यापि तस्य क्रुद्धफूत्कारेण एटनापर्वते ज्वालामुखी प्रभवति।[७६] एवं सर्पराक्षसो ज्यूसेन पराजितोऽभवत्।

हाइड्रा-हेराक्लीजयोर्युद्धम्

यवनपुराकथासु हेराक्लीजः (रोमदेशे हरक्यूलीसः) विश्रुतवीरः शंसितः। देवेन्द्रो ज्यूसः (रोमदेशे ज्यूपिटरः) अस्य जनकः, शीलसौन्दर्यबुद्धिगुणगरिमायुता

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७५. इनसाइक्लोपीडिया आफ रिलीजन एण्ड एथिक्स, भाग ११, पृ० ४०३; नेमिशरणमित्तल—विश्वप्रसिद्ध मिथक एवं पुराकथायें पृ० ११-१५।

७६. इनसाइक्लोपीडिया आफ रिलीजन एण्ड एथिक्स, भाग ११, पृ० ४०७; कमल नसीम—ग्रीस पुराण कथाकोष, पृ० ४७-४९।

एल्कमीनी अस्य जननी, किन्तु ज्यूसस्य पत्नी नासीत्। ज्यूसः अस्याः बुद्धिरूपादिभ्यः प्रभावितो जातः। तस्य छलपूर्णप्रणयसम्बन्धात् एल्कमीनी हेराक्लीजं प्रसूतवती।

ज्यूसस्य धर्मपत्नी हेरा सापत्नपुत्रं ईर्ष्यावशात् जिघांसति स्म, अपरतः ज्यूसः वीरपुत्रं हेराक्लीजं देवत्वं प्रदातुमिच्छति स्म। हेरा देवत्वप्राप्त्यर्थं हेराक्लीजं द्वादशानि दुष्करकार्याणि सम्पादनायादिष्टवती। तेषु कार्येषु हाइड्रावधोऽन्यतमः परिगणितः। असंख्यफणधरः दैत्यसर्पः हाइड्रा पङ्कात्मके लरनाक्षेत्रे न्यवसत्। तस्य मध्यवर्ती फणः अमरः आसीत्। हेराक्लीजस्याग्निबाणप्रहारेण विह्वलो दैत्यसर्प पङ्कात् बहिरागच्छत्। सः फणान् गदाप्रहारेण चूर्णीकृतवान् किन्तु अमरफणप्रभावात् फणाः पुनः सञ्जाताः। इदं विलोक्य हेराक्लीजस्य सारथिः इयोलसः चूर्णितान् फणान् अग्निना दग्धवान्। हेराक्लीजः तस्यामरफणं शिलाखण्डैः दमितवान्, स्वशराँश्च तस्य रक्ते निक्षिप्य विषाक्तान् कृतवान्। एवं दैत्यसर्पः हेराक्लीजेन पराजितोऽभवत्।[७७]

हेराक्लीजस्य हेस्पेराइडसेन सह सङ्घर्षः

हेराक्लीजः हेस्पेराइडससर्पमपि हतवान्। सर्पोऽयं कूपादुद्भूतं वृक्षं परिवेष्टयन् वर्णितः।[७८]

जैसन-परसियस-कैडमसप्रभृतयः यवनवीराः अपि सर्पराक्षसैस्सह युद्धं कृतवान्।[७९]

अतरसर्पयोर्युद्धः

पारसदेशीयायां पुराकथायामिदं वर्णनं प्राप्यते। अङ्ग्रा-माइन्यू अज्ि-दहाकस्य वधाय सर्पदैत्यं निर्मितवान्। तं सर्पम् अहुरमज्दस्य पुत्रः अतरः हतवान्[८०] अत्र सर्पदैत्यः अभिचारकर्मणः कृत्या इव प्रतीयते।

बाइबिलग्रन्थे कुर्आनशरीफग्रन्थे च सर्पदैत्यः

बाइबिलग्रन्थे वर्णितः शैतानपदेनाभिहितः सर्पः वासनायाः प्रेरकः सर्पासुरः प्रतीयते। भारतीयमिथके नहुषस्य वासनासक्तो भूत्वा सर्पत्वे परिणतिः दैत्यसर्पाणां

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७७. इनसाइक्लोपीडिया आफ रिलीजन एण्ड एथिक्स भाग, ११, पृ० ४०७; कमल नसीम-ग्रीसपुराण कथाकोष, पृ० ३७८-३८८; नेमिशरण मित्तल—विश्वप्रसिद्ध मिथक एवं पुराणकथायें पृ० ९२-९३।

७८. इनसाइक्लोपीडिया आफ रिलीजन एण्ड एथिक्स, भाग ११, पृ० ४०७।

७९. तत्रैव, पृ० ४०७।

८०. इनसाइक्लोपीडिया आफ रिलीजन एण्ड एथिक्स, भाग ११, पृ० ४०७।

कामवासनया सह सम्बन्धं प्रदर्शयति।

शैतानसंज्ञको दैत्यसर्पः ईश्वरनिर्मितेऽदनसंज्ञके उपवने न्यवसत्। सः ईश्वरनिर्मितं प्रथममानवयुगलं (इव संज्ञकां स्त्रीम्, एडमसंज्ञकं पुरुषं) ईश्वरस्य निषेधाज्ञायाः अवहेलनारूपपापाय प्रेरितवान्। तौ वर्जितफलं (सदसदबोधकं कामफलं) भक्षितवन्तौ। अनेन स्त्रीपुरुषयोर्मध्ये नग्नतायाः बोधः लज्जाबोधश्च जातौ। तयोः निष्कालुष्यं सारल्यादिकञ्च नष्टं जातम्। फलस्वरूपं तौ स्वर्गच्युतौ अभवताम्।[८१]

पूर्वोक्तकथा प्रकारान्तरेण कुर्आनशरीफग्रन्थेऽपि प्राप्यते। तत्र प्रथमयुगलस्य (आदमहौवासंज्ञकयोः) स्वर्गान्निष्कासनमीश्वरस्यावज्ञावशादभवत्। अस्मिन्नाख्याने प्रेरकः ईब्लीससंज्ञकः दूतः (फरिश्ता) आसीत्।[८२]

अरबदेशे जिन्नसंज्ञकाः सर्पदैत्याः

अरबदेशीयासु पुराकथासु जिन्नसंज्ञकाः जीवाः वर्णिताः ये मूलतः सर्पराक्षसाः आसन् येषां वशीकरणस्य वर्णनं पुराकथासु प्राप्यते।[८३]

शैवरामायणे प्रतिबिम्बिता संस्कृतिः

साहित्यं समाजस्य दर्पणं शंसितम्। रचनासु तात्कालिक्यः विमृश्यता-संस्कृतिसभ्यताः प्रतिबिम्बिताः भवान्ते। शैवरामायणेऽपि एवं परिलक्ष्यते।

भूगोलवर्णनम्

जनपदाः राज्याणि च

शैवे भारतवर्षस्य विभिन्नजनपदानामुल्लेखो प्राप्यते। ते सन्ति—सौराष्ट्रसिन्धु-सौवीरमागधहूणकोङ्कणकलिङ्गयवनबाह्लीककोसलाङ्गबङ्गनेपालद्राविडगुर्जरचोलकेकय-देशाः पश्चिमोत्तरराज्याणि पुलिन्दपाण्डुमत्स्यदेशाश्च।[८४] भरतस्य नेतृत्वे मेध्याश्वः पूर्वोक्तजनपदेषु राज्येषु च भ्रमणं कृतवान्। भारतीयानां द्वीपान्तरैस्सहापि सम्बन्धः आसीत्।

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८१. बाइबिल, प्राचीन व्यवस्था (हिन्दी अनुवाद), उत्पत्ति ग्रन्थ, ३/२-२४।

८२. कुर्आनशरीफ (हिन्दी अनुवाद) पहलापार, अलिफ लाम मीम् २ सुरतुल बक्ररति, ३०-३६।

८३. इनसाइक्लोपीडिया आफ रिलीजन एण्ड एथिक्स भाग ११, पृ० ४०४।

८४. शैव०, १/१३-१५।

पुष्करद्वीपः

सप्तद्वीपायां वसुन्धरायां प्रथमो द्वीपः जम्बूद्वीपः, सप्तमश्च शुद्धपाथोधिवेष्टितः पुष्करद्वीपोऽस्ति।[८५] पुष्करद्वीपे चित्रवत्यां पुर्यां सहस्रकण्ठो प्रशास्ति स्म।[८६] पुराणेषु पुष्करद्वीपः शाकद्वीपानन्तरमस्ति। वर्तमानभूगोलानुसारमिदं क्षेत्रम् ईरानक्षेत्रानन्तरं भवेत्।

शाकद्वीपः

शैवरामायणानुसारं शाकद्वीपे शतकन्धरसंज्ञकः रावणः शास्ति स्म।[८७] पुराणेषु शाकद्वीपः क्षीरसागरपरिवेष्टितः शस्यते। भूगोलविदः कैस्पियनसागरं क्षीरसागर इति मन्यन्ते।[८८] भौगोलिकमानचित्रानुसारं कैस्पियनसागरेणावेष्टिते भूभागे ईरानदेशः, तस्मात् पूर्वे सीरियाप्रभृतिदेशाः समायान्ति।

पाताललङ्का

पातालल‌ङ्का शतग्रीवरावणस्य राज्यमासीत्।[८९] पातालल‌ङ्का पाताले सम्भवेत्। पातालस्य स्थितिः भूमण्डलस्य पश्चिमे गोलार्द्धे वर्तमानभूगोलानुसारम् अमेरिकादेशे प्रतीयते।[९०]

पातालल‌ङ्कायाः परिचर्चा जैमिनिभारतस्य मैरावणचरिते वर्तते। मैरावणः (महीरावणः) रामलक्ष्मणौ पातालल‌ङ्कां नीत्वा तयोः बलिः दुर्गायै प्रदात्स्यति इति रावणमाश्वस्तवान्। मायानिद्रया वशीभूतयोः रामलक्ष्मणयोरपहरणं विज्ञाय हनुमान् पद्मनालमार्गेण पाताले पुनः मत्स्यराजसाहाय्येन पातालल‌ङ्कां प्रविश्य विविधप्रयत्नैः महीरावणात् रामलक्ष्मणौ मोचितवान्। अन्ततो महीरावणवधः हनुमता भवति स्म।[९१]

समुद्रः

पुष्करद्वीपेन सह विमलोदकस्य समुद्रस्य वर्णनं प्राप्यते।[९२] सागरेऽस्मिन्

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८५. विष्णुपुराण, २/४; भागवत० ५/२०; मार्कण्डेय० ५४६; तु० बलदेव उपाध्याय-पुराणविमर्श, पृ० ३२३, शैव०, ३/२१।
८६. तत्रैव, २/१७।
८७. तत्रैव, ६/१८।
८८. बलदेव उपाध्याय-पुराणविमर्श, पृ० ३२५-३२९।
८९. शैव०, ६/१७।
९०. बलदेव उपाध्याय—पुराणविमर्श, पृ० ३४४।
९१. कामिल बुल्के-रामकथा, पृ० ५९५-५९६।
९२. शैव०, ३/२१।

विविधानि पुष्पितानि सरोजादीनि पुष्पाणि, मत्स्यकच्छपादयो जलजन्तवश्च क्रीडन्तः आसन्।[९३]

पर्वताः वनानि नद्यश्च

शैवे विन्ध्यहिमालयमेरुमन्दरनिषधहेमकूटपारियात्रप्रभृतिपर्वतानां पर्वतीयवनानां नदीनाञ्च वर्णनं प्राप्यते।[९४]

शैवरामायणे इतिहासः

शैवे विभिन्नराजवंशाः विश्रुताःयुद्धादयश्च परिचर्चिताः सन्ति।

इक्ष्वाकुवंशः

इक्ष्वाकुकुलोद्भवेषु रामस्य पिता दशरथः[९५] दशरथपुत्रोऽयोध्यानरेशो रामः तस्य भार्या सीता[९६] रामस्य सहोदराः भरतलक्ष्मणशत्रुघ्नाः[९७] तस्यात्मजौ लवकुशौ[९८] शैवरामायणे वर्णिताः सन्ति।

राक्षसवंशः

शैवरामायणस्य प्रतिनायकः कश्यपसुतो द्विमातुरः सहस्रकण्ठः दितिगर्भाज्जातः आसीत्। कश्यपस्यापरा भार्या अदितिरासीत्।[९९] काश्यपेयस्य सहस्रकण्ठस्य तनयः पुष्कराक्षः शंसितः यः मृते जाते तु सहस्रकण्ठे चित्रवतीपुर्यामभिषिक्तो जातः।[१००]

शैवेऽन्यराक्षसाधिपानामपि वर्णनं प्राप्यते। तत्र पुलस्त्यपुत्रो दशाननो रावणः[१०१] पाताललङ्काधिपः शतग्रीवः[१०२] शाकद्वीपस्य शतकन्धरो रावणश्च[१०३] वर्णिताः सन्ति।

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९३. तत्रैव, २/२।
९४. तत्रैव, २/९-१०।
९५. शैव०, १/७।
९६. तत्रैव, १/८।
९७. तत्रैव, १/२, ७/१९।
९८. तत्रैव, १२/२७।
९९. तत्रैव, २/१६-१७।
१००. तत्रैव, १०/१३, २२।
१०१. तत्रैव, ८/४।
१०२. तत्रैव, ६/७।
१०३. तत्रैव, ६/८।

युद्धवर्णनम्

शैवरामायणे रामेण सह रावणानामनेकयुद्धाः वर्णिताः। कस्य युद्धस्य वर्णनं केन ऋषिणा कृतमिदमपि तत्रोलिखितमस्ति।

रामदशाननयोर्युद्धः

वाल्मीकिप्रोक्ते रामायणे रामस्य दशाननेन रावणेन सह युद्धः, युद्धे च भ्रातृभिः पुत्रैश्च सह रावणवधो वर्णितोऽस्ति।[१०४]

रामानुचरशतग्रीवयोर्युद्धः

पातालल‌ङ्कायां शतग्रीवस्य वधो रामानुचरेण कृतः। युद्धोऽयं वसिष्ठप्रोक्ते रामायणे प्राप्यते।[१०५] वसिष्ठोक्ता रामकथा योगवासिष्ठाभिधानास्ति। कामिल-बुल्केमहोदयः वासिष्ठोत्तररामायणमुल्लिखति।[१०६] रामकथासु (जैमिनिभारतस्य मैरावणचरिते[१०७] कृतिवासरामायणे[१०८] प्रभृतिषु) पातालल‌ङ्कायां हनुमता महिरावणस्य अहिरावणस्य च वधो वर्णितः किन्तु तयोः शतग्रीवता तत्र नोल्लिखिता।

शतग्रीवरामयोर्युद्धः

कथेयमगस्त्येनोक्ता। शतग्रीवोऽयं पूर्वोक्तशतग्रीवात् पृथक् प्रतीयते। अस्य शाकद्वीपस्य शासकस्य वधः सीता कृतवती।[१०९]

सीतया शतग्रीववधः आनन्दरामायणे[११०] तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहरामायणे[१११] शत-मुखरावणचरिते[११२] च प्राप्यते।

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१०४. शैव०, ६/१६।

१०५. तत्रैव, ६/१७।

१०६. कामिल बुल्के-रामकथा, पृ० १७६।

१०७. तत्रैव, पृ० ५९५।

१०८. तत्रैव, पृ० ५९७।

१०९. शैव०, ६/१८।

११०. आनन्द रामायण, राज्यकाण्ड, ४/८०-८५।

१११. तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहरामायण, ७/१-२।

११२. कामिल बुल्के, रामकथा, पृ० १७६।

रामसहस्रस्कन्धयोर्युद्धः

अस्योल्लेखोऽद्भुते रामायणेऽस्ति।[११३] तत्र रामः सहस्रस्कन्धेन पराजितो जातः। सीता तं हतवती।[११४] अयं पुष्करद्वीपनिवासी आसीत्।

रामसहस्रकण्ठयोर्युद्धः

अस्यैव वर्णनं शैवरामायणे प्राप्यते। स्वयं सहस्रकण्ठः अस्योल्लेखं करोति। अनेनेदं प्रतीयते, पूर्वोक्तः सहस्रस्कन्धः शैवरामायणस्य प्रतिनायकात् पृथगासीत्। यद्यपि अयमपि पुष्करद्वीपस्य शासकोऽस्ति किन्तु अस्य वधः रामेण भवति।

शैवरामायणे राजनीतिः

शैवरामायणे राजवंशानां चरितानि वर्णितानि सन्ति, अतः राजनीतिः अत्र सहजा वर्तते। ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् राजसभायाः मन्त्रिगणस्य दूतादिकस्य वर्णनमनेकशो दृश्यते। राजधर्मानुकूलः छलादिकानां प्रयोगः दृष्टिपथमायाति।

अश्वमेधयज्ञः

अयं तु न केवलं धार्मिकः कर्मकाण्डः अपितु याजकस्य राज्ञः प्रभुत्वस्यापि परिचायकोऽस्ति। अनेकान् देशान् विजित्य चक्रवर्ती सम्राट् निष्कण्टक-प्रभुत्वस्थापनायास्य अनुष्ठानं करोति। ये राजानः याजकस्याधिपत्यं स्वीकुर्वन्ति ते स्वराज्ये प्रविष्टे जातेऽश्वे अश्वानुगतेभ्यो राजपुरुषेभ्यः करं प्रददति। ये यजमानस्य प्रभुत्वं न स्वीकुर्वन्ति तेऽश्वमवरुध्य याजकेन सह युद्धं कुर्वन्ति। शैवरामायणेऽपि एवं दृश्यते। दशाननवधान्तरं रामस्याश्वमेधे सर्वे नृपाः करं दत्तवन्तः किन्तु पुष्करनरेशः सहस्रकण्ठः रामस्याधिपत्यमस्वीकृत्य मेध्याश्वमपहृतवान्।[११५] फलतः रामेण सह तस्य युद्धो जातः, सहस्रकण्ठश्च पराजितोऽभवत्।

राजसभावर्णनम्

शैवे रामसहस्रकण्ठयोः सभावर्णनं प्राप्यते।

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११३. शैव०, ६/१९।
११४. अद्भुतरामायण, सर्ग १७-२७।
११५. शैव०, १,२/१-८।

सहस्रकण्ठस्य राजसभा

चित्रवतीपुरीस्था सहस्रकण्ठस्य सभा दुष्प्रवेश्यासीत् यत्र हनुमान् चित्राङ्गशुको सन् प्रविष्टो जातः। तत्र दैत्येन्द्रः समन्त्रिवर्गः तिष्ठन्नासीत्।[११६]

रामसभा

रामस्य राजसभा सभामण्डपे वर्णिता, यत्र काले-काले रामः स्वमन्त्रिभिः भ्रातृभिः ऋषिभिश्च सह सिंहासनमधिरुह्य परामृष्टवान्। अश्वाहरणे जातेऽपि सः तत्रैवाभ्यमन्त्रयत्।[११७]

मन्त्रिगणः

शैवे रामसहस्रकण्ठयोः मन्त्रिगणाः वर्णिताः। राम मन्त्रीन् ऋषीन् नरेशाँश्च परामृष्टवान्।[११८] सहस्रकण्ठस्य प्रमुखपरामर्शकोऽमात्यः रक्ताक्षः आसीत्।[११९]

दूतः

हनुमान् रामस्य दूतः आसीत्। सः रामस्य दौत्यमुद्वहन् सहस्रकण्ठस्य सभायामुपस्थितो जातः।[१२०]

छलप्रयोगः

विपक्षीन् तिरस्कर्तुं पराभवितुञ्च शैवे छलस्यापि प्रयोगो दृश्यते। मेध्याश्वमपहर्तुं अमात्यः रक्ताक्षः ललाटे तिलकस्य भरतस्य बलोपरि मत्तचूर्णस्य प्रयोगं कृतवान्।[१२१]

राज्याभिषेकः

सहस्रकण्ठस्य वधानन्तरं तस्य पुत्रस्य रत्नसिंहासनस्थस्य मन्त्रिवर्गसंवलितस्य तीर्थोदकैः पूर्णकलशैः राज्याभिषेकः छत्रचामरादिभिश्चालङ्कृतिः शैवरामायणे विशदेन वर्ण्यते।[१२२]

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११६. तत्रैव, ४/८-९।
११७. तत्रैव, ३/३-२६।
११८. तत्रैव, ३/४-८।
११९. तत्रैव, २/४।
१२०. शैव०, २/४।
१२१. तत्रैव, २/७-८।
१२२. तत्रैव, १०/२२-२३।

शैवरामायणे युद्धकला

रामसहस्रकण्ठयोर्युद्धवर्णनात् तात्कालिकी युद्धरीतिः शस्त्रादीनि च ज्ञायन्ते।

युद्धप्रस्थानस्य सज्जा

युद्धाय प्रस्थानकाले सहस्रकण्ठः पताकाध्वजादिभिः युतः, बन्दीमागधादिभिः अनुकृतः, गजाश्वरथपदातिभिः संवलितश्च सज्जीभूतः। तस्मिन् काले भेरी-मृदङ्गतूर्यादिवाद्यानि निनादितानि आसन्।[१२३]

शस्त्रास्त्राणि

शैवे दिव्यास्त्राणां सामान्यशस्त्रास्त्राणाञ्च वर्णनमेवं प्राप्यते।

सामान्यानि शस्त्रास्त्राणि

योद्धारः स्तम्भमुद्गरपरिघशूलकुन्तपरश्वधबाण[१२४]—पर्वतपादप[१२५]—शक्ति-तोमरभिन्दिपालकुन्तासि[१२६]-सर्पोपमभल्लार्धचन्द्राणि[१२७] प्रयुञ्जन्ति स्म।

दिव्यास्त्राणि

रामः सहस्रकण्ठवधाय विभिन्नानि दिव्यास्त्राणि प्रयुक्तवान्। तानि ऐन्द्रपाशुपत-याम्यवायव्यवारुणसौरब्राह्मकौबेराग्नेयवैष्णवसंज्ञकानि आसन्।[१२८]

शैवरामायणस्य सप्तमेऽष्टमे चाध्याये शस्त्रास्त्रैर्युद्धः वर्णितोऽस्ति।

युद्धपद्धतिः

निगरणम्

इयं राक्षसी युद्धपद्धतिरासीत्। सहस्रकण्ठो युद्धे समुपस्थितान् वानरान् गृहीत्वा निगरितवान्।[१२९]

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१२३. तत्रैव, ६/३-४।
१२४. शैव०, ५/६।
१२५. तत्रैव, ५/१५।
१२६. तत्रैव, ८/१४।
१२७. तत्रैव, ९/१, ३।
१२८. तत्रैव, ८/१४-१५।
१२९. तत्रैव, ६/५।

हस्तपादादिप्रयोगः

युद्धे शारीरबलस्यापि प्रयोगः बाहुल्येन वर्णितः। द्वन्द्वयुद्धे मुष्टामुष्टिं, पादप्रहारम्, अन्तरिक्षे भ्रामयित्वा भूमौ निक्षेपणं, चरणौ गृहीत्वा द्विधा विभाजनं[१३०] पादाभ्यां घर्षणम्[१३१] उच्छ्रयात् शत्रोः उपरि प्रपतनं, लाङ्गलादिभिः ताडनं[१३२] च वर्णितानि सन्ति।

मल्लयुद्धः

रामसहस्रकण्ठौ मल्लकुशलौ वलयागामिनौ नानागतिविशारदावास्ताम्।[१३३]

शैवरामायणे वास्तुः शिल्पश्च

शैवरामायणेन तात्कालिकी समुन्नता वास्तुकला शिल्पकला च परिज्ञायते।

दुर्गसंरचना

पुष्पकरद्वीपे स्थिता चित्रवतीपुरी उभयविधदुर्गसंरचनया कृत्रिमया सहजया च सुरक्षितासीत्। परितः सागरस्य परिवेष्टनेन[१३४] पुरी सहजतया जलदुर्गयुता सञ्जाता। एतदतिरिक्तं चित्रवती पुरी सप्तप्राकारैः परिवृतासीत्।[१३५] प्राकारेषु शृङ्गाट्टालकाः[१३६] द्वात्रिंशद्द्वाराणि[१३७] शतवातायनानि[१३८] च निर्मितानि आसन्। एवं पुरी दुष्प्रवेश्या जाता।[१३९]

सभागारम्

मन्त्रणार्थं राजभवने सभागारस्योल्लेखः प्राप्यते। सभामण्डपे राजसिंहासनं,

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१३०. शैव०, ५/१८-२४।
१३१. तत्रैव, ७/१३।
१३२. तत्रैव, ५/४-७।
१३३. तत्रैव, ८/१७-१९।
१३४. तत्रैव, ३/२१।
१३५. तत्रैव, ४/६।
१३६. तत्रैव, २/१८।
१३७. तत्रैव, २/१९, ४/६।
१३८. तत्रैव, ४/६।
१३९. तत्रैव, ४/७।

सभेयानां कृते च यथार्हमासनानि चासन्।[१४०] सभागारे स्तम्भवर्णनमपि प्राप्यते।[१४१]

यज्ञशाला

राम: अश्वमेधाय सरयूतटे यज्ञशाला: निर्माय्य तत्र यज्ञवेद्य: प्रकल्पितवान्।[१४२]

सौध:

पुर्यां[१४३] राजभवने च[१४४] सौधा: निर्मिता: आसन्।

राजभवनम्

सहस्रकण्ठस्य राजभवनं राजमार्गे सुमेरुरिव स्थितमासीत्।[१४५] भवने सुवर्ण-कलश: शतवातायनानि चासन्। भवनञ्च प्राकारमण्डलेन परिवेष्टितमासीत्।[१४६] द्वाराणि कपाटै: पिहितानि आसन्। भवने नानारत्नानि मयूरशुकसारिकाश्च निनादिता: आसन्।[१४७] राजभवनेऽन्त:पुरमपि वर्णितमस्ति।[१४८]

अलङ्करणम्

सहस्रकण्ठस्य राजप्रासाद: पताकाध्वजवितानमुक्तामणिस्वस्तिकपुष्पैश्चालङ्कृत: आसीत्।[१४९]

राजभवनस्योपस्करणानि

सिंहासनम्

सिंहासनं राजप्रासादस्याभिन्नमुपस्करणं वर्तते। अस्योल्लेख: रामसभायां,[१५०]

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१४०. शैव०, ३/३-१०।
१४१. तत्रैव, ५/५।
१४२. तत्रैव, १२/५।
१४३. तत्रैव, ४/८।
१४४. तत्रैव, १०/१८।
१४५. तत्रैव, १०/१५।
१४६. तत्रैव, १०/१७।
१४७. तत्रैव, १०/१६।
१४८. तत्रैव, १०/२०।
१४९. तत्रैव, १०/१८, १९।
१५०. शैव०, ३/६।

पुष्कराक्षस्याभिषेकावसरे[१५१] च प्राप्यते। पुष्कराक्षः प्रस्थानकाले रामं रत्नसिंहासनमुपग्राह्यं कृतवान्।[१५२]

यानम्

राजभवनस्योपस्करणेषु यानं विशिष्टमस्ति। शैवे पुष्पकविमानस्य[१५३] रथगजाश्वादीनाञ्च[१५४] वर्णनं प्राप्यते।

शैवरामायणीयाः अन्याः परम्पराः

पत्रलेखनम्

शैवे स्थलद्वये पत्रलेखनस्योल्लेखोऽस्ति। प्रथमतः मेध्याश्वस्य ललाटे बद्धं रामस्य सुवर्णपट्टाङ्कितं राजपत्रम्[१५५] अपरतश्चभरतेन इन्द्राय पत्रलेखनम्[१५६] सुवर्णपट्टाङ्कितेन राजपत्रेण सुवर्णपट्टप्रकल्पनं तस्योपरि च वर्णाङ्कनं तात्कालिकं शिल्पसौष्ठवं प्रकाशयति।

पत्रप्रेषणम्

अन्तरिक्षादिसुदूरलक्ष्यं प्रति पत्रप्रेषणाय पत्रं लिखित्वा तच्च शरे बद्ध्वा शरसन्धानेन उत्क्षेपणं पत्रप्रेषणस्य विधिरासीत्। भरतः अनेन विधिना इन्द्राय पत्रं प्रेषितवान्।[१५७]

सम्मोहनी विद्या

विपक्षिणां सम्मोहनाय प्रयोक्ता स्वललाटे तिलकं परपक्षे च मत्तचूर्णं प्रयुञ्जन्ति स्म। रक्ताक्षः एवं ससैन्यं भरतं मुग्धवान्।[१५८] भाले तिलकस्य मत्तचूर्णादिकस्य सम्मोहनार्थं प्रयोगः शैवदर्शने वर्णितोऽस्ति।

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१५१. तत्रैव, १०/२२।
१५२. तत्रैव, ११/१५।
१५३. तत्रैव, ४/५, ७/५।
१५४. तत्रैव, ६/४।
१५५. तत्रैव, १/१६, २०।
१५६. तत्रैव, २/११।
१५७. तत्रैव, २/११, १२।
१५८. शैव०, २/७।

भोज्यपदार्थानि

अश्वमेधप्रसङ्गे विविधभोज्यपेयानां वर्णनं प्राप्यते। अभ्यागतानां स्वागतं नानाविधैः सूपैः[१५९] हिङ्गुलवणमिश्रैः शाकैः मरीच्याम्राज्यरसालतिलमाषादिचूर्णाक्तैः रसान्वितैः द्राक्षेक्षुरम्भापनसनारिकेलैः सिद्धार्थरससंयुक्तैः आज्यैश्च अभवत्।[१६०]

पात्राणि

भोजनार्थं विभिन्नानां पात्राणामुल्लेखो वर्तते। पात्राणि सुवर्णनिर्मितानि राजतानि रत्नमयानि पर्णनिर्मितानि चासन्।[१६१]

प्रेतकर्म

शैवे प्रेतकर्मणः उल्लेखः सहस्रग्रीवस्य वधानन्तरे प्राप्यते। मृत्योरनन्तरं पुत्रेण पुष्पकराक्षेण मृतकसंस्कारस्य दशाहपर्यन्तमशौचस्य वर्णनमस्ति।

एवं शैवरामायणे तात्कालिकी सभ्यता संस्कृतिश्च प्रतिबिम्बिता भवति। द्वीपान्तरेषु आर्याणां प्रस्तारः राक्षसेषु तेषां प्रभुत्वम् असदि सतः प्रभुता ग्रन्थस्य प्रतिपाद्योऽस्ति। रामस्य नेतृत्वे प्रथितयशस्कानां भारतीयाणां विजयध्वजोच्छ्रायो जम्बूद्वीपात् पुष्करद्वीपपर्यन्तमासमुद्रं जातः। इयमेव रामविजयाभिधाना शैवरामायणे गीता रमणीया रामायणी कथास्ति।

मातृकापरिचयः

शैवरामायणस्यैकैव मातृका गङ्गानाथझाविद्यापीठस्य सङ्ग्रहालये प्राप्यते। मातृका त्रयोदशपृष्ठयुता देवनागरीलिपिबद्धा सुस्पष्टवर्णास्ति। अनेकशः कीटदंशनेन पाठः पूर्णतया न प्राप्यते।

शैवरामायणस्य भाषा कथानुकूला भावानुकूला छन्दोबद्धा सरला सहजा प्रवाहयुता चास्ति। लघुवाक्यविन्यासैः सटीकपदैश्च ग्रन्थकर्ता युद्धवर्णनं सभावर्णनञ्च सजीवं करोति। सर्वे पाठकानां सम्मुखमेव प्रचलति, इत्येवं प्रतीयते। शब्दचित्रेषु कथानिर्वहणे च ग्रन्थकारः साफल्यमवाप्नोति।

विविधप्रसङ्गेषु सकारस्य स्थाने शकारः लिपिकर्तुः प्रमादः प्रतीयते। क्वचित्कदाचित् छन्दोभङ्गोऽपि प्राप्यते। क्वचिच्च एवमपि प्रतीयते यत् किञ्चित्

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१५९. तत्रैव, १२/१५।
१६०. तत्रैव, १२/१५-१८।
१६१. तत्रैव, १२/१८।

वक्तव्यमवशिष्टमस्ति।[१६२] इदं लेखकस्य ग्रन्थकारस्य वा प्रमादो भवेत्।

ग्रन्थकर्तुः कालोऽभिधानश्चाज्ञातोऽस्ति। किन्तुं इदं निश्चितं यत् ग्रन्थोऽयं नास्ति अतिप्राचीनः। एतत्पूर्वं वाल्मीकिरामायणं योगवासिष्ठमद्भुतरामायणमगस्त्यरामायणञ्च लोकविश्रुतानि जातानि। अपरतः अस्य भाषा अर्वाचीना प्रतिभाति।

मातृकायाः मङ्गलाचरणं पुष्पिका च

मङ्गलाचरणम्

श्रीगणेशाय नमः। श्रीरेणुकायै नमः। शैवरामायणमारभते।

पुष्पिका

१२ संमत् १९५६ फाल्गूनशुद्धचतुर्दश्यां लिखितम्।

कृतवेदितापुष्पाञ्जलिः

मम प्रथमः पुष्पाञ्जलिः शैवरामायणस्य प्रोक्तारं शिवं श्रोत्रीं शिवां प्रति निवेदितोऽस्ति। ययोः आशीर्वादात् ग्रन्थः मम समक्षं शिथिलग्रन्थियुतो जातः। तयोः प्रसादस्वरूपाणां गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठस्य प्राचार्यवर्याणां डॉ० गया-चरणत्रिपाठिमहाभागानामाध्यक्षे निर्देशने चाहं कार्यं सम्पादितवती अतो ममापरो पुष्पाञ्जलिः तेभ्यः गुरुकल्पेभ्यो निवेद्यते। ते महाभागाः कार्यस्यानुमतिं प्रदाय, ग्रन्थे समागतानि जाटिल्यानि दूरीकृत्य, पदे पदे मार्गनिर्देशं कृत्वा, अन्ततः कार्यं प्रकाश्य मामुपकृतवन्तः, अतोऽहं तेषामधमर्णतामुद्वहामि।

कार्येस्मिन् वेदविभागस्याध्यक्षाणां डॉ० मायामालवीयमहाभागानां प्रेरणा, सहोदरकल्पस्य डॉ० प्रकाशपाण्डेयमहाभागस्य पदे पदे सक्रियसहयोगोऽवि-स्मरणीयोऽस्ति, अतोऽहं तेभ्यः कृतवेदितामर्पयामि।

प्रयागस्थस्य सन्तएन्थोनीमाध्यमिकबालिकाविद्यालयस्य प्राचार्या भगिनी मरीजा महाभागा मां बाइबिलधर्मग्रन्थं प्रदाय्योपकृतवती, अतः सापि धन्यवादार्हा। अन्ये च ये कार्येऽस्मिन् कृतसाहाय्याः तान् प्रत्यप्याभराभि। त्रुटीणां मर्षणे विद्वांसः एव प्रमाणम्।

—विदुषां वशंवदा

शैलजा पाण्डेय

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१६२. शैव०, ९/१५-१६; २०-२१।

शैवरामायणम्

प्रथमोऽध्यायः

श्रीगणेशाय नमः। श्रीरेणुकायै नमः। शैवरामायणमारभते।

सूत उवाच—

कैलासशिखरे रम्ये कल्पवृक्षोपशोभिते।
गन्धर्वगणसम्पूर्णे राजतैः शि [ख] रैर्युते॥ १॥
विद्याधरैरप्सरोभिः प्रमथैश्च विराजिते।
रत्नसन्नद्धपीठे तु समासीनं तु शङ्करम्।
दृष्ट्वा सा पार्वती प्राह वचनं धर्मसम्मितम्॥ २॥

श्रीपार्वत्युवाच—

भगवन् सर्वधर्मज्ञ रामस्य चरितं शुभम्।
श्रीरामविजयं नाम ब्रूहि मे करुणाकर।
तस्यास्तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा पार्वतीं प्राह शङ्करः॥ ३॥

श्रीशङ्कर उवाच—

शृणु देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि प्रीतये गिरिकन्यके।
श्रीरामविजयं नाम सहस्त्रग्रीवनाशनम्॥ ४॥
सर्वपापप्रशमनं सर्वसौभाग्यदायकम्।
पुत्रपौत्रप्रदं नृणां चातुर्वगफलप्रदम्॥ ५॥
रामो दाशरथिः श्रीमानयोध्यायामभून्नृपः।
इक्ष्वाकुकुलसम्भूतः सर्वराक्षसमर्दनः॥ ६॥
कुम्भकर्णमहाकायदशास्येन्द्रजितां वधम्।
कृत्वा ह्ययोध्यां सम्प्राप्तः सीतया भ्रातृभिर्युतः॥ ७॥
पट्टाभिषिक्तो राजन्यैर्वसिष्ठाद्यैः समन्त्रिभिः।
भ्रातृभिः सहितो रामः सम्यग्राज्यमपालयत्॥ ८॥

एवं बहुतिथेऽतीते रामो राजीवलोचनः।
हयमेधं ततः कर्तुमारभद् रावणान्तकः॥ ९॥
मधुमासेऽसिते पक्षे ह्यलंकृत्य हयोत्तमम्।
चतुरङ्गबलैर्युक्तमृत्विग्भिश्च समन्वितम्॥ १०॥
नियुज्य भरतं क्षिप्रं सशत्रुघ्नमवोचत्।
भरत भ्रातृसहितो ह्यनुसृत्य हये व्रज॥ ११॥
इति रामवचः श्रुत्वा रामाज्ञां परिपालयन्।
निर्ययौ भरतः शीघ्रं हयानुसरणो द्विजाः॥ १२॥
चारयामास देशान् स तान् तान् जनपदान् बहून्।
सौराष्ट्रसिन्धुसौवीरमागधाः हूणकोङ्कणाः॥ १३॥
कलिङ्गयवनाः शूरा बाह्लीकाः कोसलादयः।
अङ्गबङ्गनृ [ने] पालाश्च द्राविडाः गुर्जराश्च ये॥ १४॥
चोलाः केकयदेशीयाः पाश्चात्याः औत्तरीयकाः।
पुलिन्दाः पाण्डवाः मात्स्याः ये द्वीपान्तरवासिनः॥ १५॥

श्रीशङ्कर उवाच—

ललाटपट्टलिखितं सौवर्णं राघवीयकम्।
पत्रं दृष्ट्वा च राजानो वाचयामासुरादरात्॥ १६॥
अयोध्याधिपतिः शूरो रामो दशरथात्मजः।
हयमेधं करोत्यद्य सरयूतीरसंस्थितः॥ १७॥
कौसल्यायाः कुमारोऽभूदंशाद् विष्णोः महात्मनः।
यज्ञीयाश्वो ह्ययं तेन मोचितोऽभूद्यथाविधिः॥ १८॥
एषां [येषां] सामर्थ्यमस्तीह युद्धं कर्तुं बलाच्च तैः।
गृह्णीयोऽश्वोऽन्यथा तैश्च करो देयो मुदान्वितैः॥ १९॥
तेषां रामाद् भयं नास्ति इतरेषां पदे पदे।
एवं विलिखितं पत्रे सौवर्णे रामणीयके।
वाचयन्तो नृपाः सर्वे ते बभूवुः [पराङ्] मुखाः॥ २०॥

॥ इति श्रीशैवरामायणे पार्वतीशङ्करसंवादे प्रथमोऽध्यायः॥

द्वितीयोऽध्यायः

श्रीशङ्कर उवाच—

श्रृणु प्रिये ततो वृत्तं यज्ञीयाश्वस्य ते ब्रुवे।
संचरित्वा हयं भूमौ ससैन्यः [प] रिपालयन्॥
भरतो भ्रातृसहितः सिन्धुतीरमुपाश्रितः॥ १॥
राजीवोत्पलकल्हारमत्स्यकच्छपराजितम्।
विमलोदक्कल्लोलद्विजसञ्चयं घोषितम्॥ २॥
सिन्धुतीरं समुद्वीक्ष्य वासं चक्रे रघूद्वहः।
सहस्रकण्ठो दैत्येन्द्रः कश्यपस्य सुतो बली॥ ३॥
मन्त्रिवर्येण धीरेण रक्ताक्षेण स संयुतः।
यदृच्छया सञ्चरित्वा तान्तान् द्वीपान् बलान्वितान्॥ ४॥
सिन्धुतीरमुपाश्रित्य दृष्ट्वा तं भरतं तदा।
आहूय राक्षसं धीरमिदं वचनमब्रवीत्॥ ५॥
लोहिताक्ष भवान् गत्वा गृहीत्वायाहि घोटकम्।
विसृष्टस्तेन रक्ताक्षस्ततोद्वीक्ष्य हयोत्तमम्॥ ६॥
निधाय तिलकं भाले मत्तचूर्णं विकीर्य सः।
भरतं सबलं तत्र मायया मोहयन्निशि॥ ७॥
यज्ञीयाश्वं गृहीत्वासौ ययौ चित्रवतीं पुरीम्।
ततः प्रभाते विमले बलं दृष्ट्वा ह्यनश्वकम्॥ ८॥
भरतो भ्रातृसहितो बलेन महतावृतः।
विंध्य हिमालयं मेरुं मन्दरं निषधं गिरिम्॥ ९॥
हेमकूटं पारियात्रं शैलारण्यं नदीं पुरीः।
सर्वा दिशश्च विदिशो जम्बूद्वीपे [पं] व्यचिन्वत॥ १०॥
अदृश्यमानस्तुरगं भरतश्चिन्तयन् विभुः।
लिखितं लेखयित्वा तु शरे बद्ध्वा स राघवः॥ ११॥
सन्धाय कार्मुके तं तु विससर्जेन्द्रसन्निधिम्।
स ददर्श शरं दीप्तं सलेखं मघवा तदा॥ १२॥
भरतं सिन्धुतीरस्थं सभ्रातृकमुपेत्य सः।
उवाच वचनं धीरो गुरुणा सह दैवतैः॥ १३॥

इन्द्र उवाच—

न जानेऽहं रघुश्रेष्ठ यज्ञीयं ते तुरङ्गमम्।
त्रिदिवे नास्ति ते वाजी क्रोधत्वं मयि मा कृथाः॥
इति ब्रुवति देवेन्द्रे बृहस्पतिरुवा च तम्॥ १४॥

बृहस्पतिरुवाच—

तुरङ्गमस्य वृत्तान्तं वदामि शृणु राघव।
सहस्रकण्ठो दैत्येन्द्रः कश्यपस्य सुतो बली॥ १५॥
द्वे भार्ये कश्यपस्य [स्यास्तां] दितिश्चादितिरेव च।
दित्यामेव समुत्पन्नस्त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः॥ १६॥
ब्रह्माणं तपसोग्रेण तोषयद् भुवि राक्षसः।
तस्य प्रसादाच्चित्रवतीं पुष्करद्वीपवर्तिनीम्॥ १७॥
समवाप पुरीं रम्यां सप्तप्राकारशोभिताम्।
शृङ्गाट्टालकसंयुक्तां चैत्यप्रासादसङ्कुलाम्॥ १८॥
द्वात्रिंशद्वारसंयुक्तां नानारत्नोपशोभिताम्।
हस्त्यश्वगणसम्पूर्णां रक्षोगणनिशे [?से] विताम्॥ १९॥
दुर्गमां देवतानीकैर्दुगत्रय विशोभिताम्।
तस्यामास्ते स दैत्येन्द्रस्तेन संचोदितोऽधुना॥ २०॥
राक्षसः कश्चिदागत्य गृहीत्वा तुरगं ययौ।
तस्य तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा विस्मयाद् भरतोऽब्रवीत्॥ २१॥
अहं कथं गमिष्यामि जित्वा नेष्यामि तं कथम्।
तच्छ्रुत्वा भरतेनोक्तं पुनः प्राह बृहस्पतिः॥ २२॥
हे राजन् शृणु मे वाक्यमसाध्यं नास्ति ते क्वचित्।
गन्तुं तत्पुष्करं द्वीपं सयत्नो भव साम्प्रतम्॥ २३॥
रामेण संयुतस्तत्र गत्वा चित्रवतीं पुरीम्।
आगमिष्यसि तं जित्वा गृहीत्वा तुरगं पुनः॥ २४॥
इत्याभाष्य ययौ स्वर्गं पूजितस्तेन पार्वति।
इन्द्रो [ऽनु] ज्ञां गृहीत्वा च स्वपुरीमगमत्तदा॥ २५॥

इति शैवरामायणे पार्वतीशङ्करसंवादे सहस्रकण्ठदैत्यचरिते

द्वितीयोऽध्यायः।

तृतीयोऽध्यायः

श्रीशङ्कर उवाच—

भरतोऽपि ययौ सैन्यैः संवृतः सन्निवृत्य सः।
प्रणम्यं रामं वृत्तान्तं तुरगस्य न्यवेदयत्॥ १॥
रामो निशम्य वचनं विस्मयाकुलचेतसा।
किंकर्तव्यमतोऽस्माभिरित्युवाच वचस्तदा॥ २॥
सभामण्डपमासाद्य वसिष्ठादिमुनीश्वरैः।
मन्त्रिभिर्भ्रातृभिःसार्द्धं रराज रघुपुङ्गवः॥ ३॥
सविस्मयो दाशरथिस्तदानघः सहस्रकण्ठस्य पुरीं विजेतुम्।
इयेष भूपालमहीसुरान्वितः समन्त्रिवर्गः स हि राजसत्तमः॥ ४॥

शिव उवाच—

शृणु देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि रामस्य चरितं शुभम्।
रामेण यत्कृतं कर्म सहस्रग्रीवनाशनम्॥ ५॥
सिंहासनगतो रामो [मः] आनयामास तान् ऋषीन्।
वसिष्ठो वामेदवश्च वाल्मीकिर्नारदो भृगुः॥ ६॥
अगस्त्यो रैव्यकः कण्वः कण्डुः शौनकपर्वतौ।
सुतीक्ष्णः शङ्खलिखितौ मार्कण्डेयोऽत्रिगौतमौ॥ ७॥
जाबालिर्जमदग्निश्च शतानन्दोऽप्यथापरे।
रामस्य मन्दिरं प्रापुः विश्वामित्रादयोऽपि च॥ ८॥
समागतान् मुनीन् वीक्ष्य सहसोत्थाय चासनात्।
प्रणम्य दत्त्वासनानि पूजां कृत्वा पृथक् पृथक्॥ ९॥
स्थित्वासने चिरं ध्यात्वा प्रोवाच मुनिसत्तमान्।
शृणुध्वं मुनयः सर्वे मदीयं वाक्यमुत्तमम्॥ १०॥
मया विसृष्टस्तुरगो गृहीतः केन रक्षसा।
किंकर्तव्यं मया ह्यत्र भवद्भिस्तद्विधीयताम्॥ ११॥
रामस्य वचनं श्रुत्वा जाबालिर्वाक्यमब्रवीत्।
रामचन्द्र महाबाहो शृणु मद्वचनं हितम्॥ १२॥

कश्यपस्य सुतो दित्यां सहस्त्रवदनोऽभवत्।
स एवोग्रं तपस्तप्त्वा सम्यग्दत्तवरः सुरैः॥ १३॥
जित्वा त्रिलोकान् दैत्येन्द्रो ह्यष्टौ दिक्पालकानपि।
मुक्तिकामस्तपश्चक्रे वत्सराणां सहस्त्रकम्॥
तदा ताक्ष्यें समारुह्य आविरासीद्रमापतिः॥ १४॥

विष्णुरुवाच—

किमर्थं तप्यसे दैत्य ब्रूहि सर्वमशेषतः।
अभीष्टं तव दास्यामि तपसा तोषितोऽस्मिहम्[?ऽस्म्यहम्] ॥ १५॥
इत्युक्तो स हि दैत्येन्द्रस्तं प्राह रघुपुङ्गवः।
मुक्तिकामो ह्यहं विष्णो दातव्यं त्वत्पदं मम॥ १६॥
इति तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा विष्णुः प्राहासुरं पुनः।
भो दैत्य मानुषो भूत्वा दास्येऽहं तव कांक्षितम॥ १७॥
कुले दशरथस्याशुर्मम जन्म भविष्यति।
तस्मिन् जन्मनि ते हत्वा रणेऽहं दैत्यवल्लभ॥ १८॥
शेषत्वं ते प्रदास्यामि शयनं मे भविष्यसि।
मदीयं शयनं भूत्वा मदीयं स्थानमेष्यसि॥ १९॥
इतीरितस्त्वया राम दैत्येन्द्रः स्वपुरं ययौ।
त्वदागमनमाकांक्षन्नास्ते चित्रवतीपुरे॥ २०॥
तस्मिन् स पुष्पकरद्वीपे शुद्धपाथोधिवेष्टिते।
मरणार्थिनोऽस्य दूतो रक्ताक्ष इति विश्रुतः॥ २१॥
चोदितो दैत्यराजेन गृहीत्वा तुरगं ययौ।
भवान् हि पुष्पकारुढः सुग्रीवादिगणान्वितः॥ २२॥
गत्वा तं पुष्पकरं द्वीपं जित्वा शत्रुं रणेऽधुना॥
देवतानां सुखं कृत्वा गृहीत्वा तुरगं पुनः॥ २३॥
अयोध्यापुरमागत्य कुरु भूयो महाक्रतुम्।
सहस्त्रास्यस्त्व [या] सोऽपि निर्जितः शेषतां गतः॥ २४॥
सहस्त्रफणवान् भूत्वा तव शय्या भविष्यति।
मयोक्तं सर्वमेतद्धि कुरु यत्नमतन्द्रितः।
इत्युक्त्वा विररामाथ जाबालिर्भगवानृषिः॥ २५॥

इति शैवरामायणे पार्वतीशङ्करसंवादे सहस्त्रकण्ठचरिते

तृतीयोऽध्यायः

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

श्रीशङ्कर उवाच—

जाबालेस्तु वचः श्रुत्वा राघवः परवीरहा।
जाबालिनञ्च सम्पूज्य सर्वान् ऋषिगणान् तथा॥ १॥
निर्वर्त्य सर्वान् राजर्षीन् सोदरैः सहितोऽनघः।
सस्मार पुष्पकं रामः स्मरणेनाययौ च तम्॥ २॥
दृष्ट्वा तत्पुष्पकं राम आरुरोह स सानुजः।
सुग्रीवो वानरैः सार्द्धमाञ्जनेयाङ्गदादिभिः॥ ३॥
बिभीषणोऽपि रक्षोभिः सायुधैः शतकोटिभिः।
नानादेशस्थिताः ये च नानाद्वीपनिवासिनः॥ ४॥
हस्त्यश्वरथपादान्ता आरुहन् पुष्पकं तदा।
अथ रामो महातेजा ययौ चित्रवर्तीं पुरीम्॥ ५॥
तत प्राकारशोभाभिरग्निज्वालामिवस्थिताम्।
द्वात्रिंशद्वारसंयुक्तां वातायनशतैर्युताम्॥ ६॥
वीक्ष्य विस्मयमापन्नः पुरद्वारमुपागमत्।
चित्रवर्णशुकाङ्गः सन् प्राकारान् तानलङ्घयत्॥ ७॥
गत्वा तत्पुरतः स्थित्वा सौधोपरि समीरजः।
शुकश्चचार तं दैत्यं लोभयन् देहकान्तिभिः॥ ८॥
सहस्रकण्ठो दैत्येन्द्रो मन्त्रिभिः परिवेष्टितः।
स्थित्वा सभायां पक्षीन्द्रं ददर्श शुकरूपिणम्॥ ९॥
चित्रवर्णशुकं वीक्ष्य लोहिताक्षमथाब्रवीत्।
कोऽयं शुकश्चित्रवर्णः क्वागतस्तु किमागतः॥ १०॥
प्रेषितः केन प्रष्टव्यो गृहीतव्योऽधुना त्वया।
इति तेन समादिष्टो लोहिताक्षोऽब्रवीच्छुकम्॥ ११॥
कस्माद्देशादागतोऽसि प्रेषितः केन साम्प्रतम्।
इन्द्रेण हव्यवाहेन यमेन वरुणेन वा॥ १२॥
वायुना नैर्ऋतेनाथ शूलिना धनदेन वा।
कोऽसि त्वं ब्रूहि तत्त्वेन दूतधर्मेण भो शुक॥ १३॥

इत्युक्तो मारुतिस्तत्र लोहिताक्षेण पार्वति।
हनूमान् प्रत्युवाचाथ सहस्त्रग्रीवराक्षासम्॥ १४॥
सहस्त्रकण्ठदैत्येन्द्र मदीयागमनं शृणु।
रामो दाशरथिः श्रीमान् रावणासुरमर्दनः॥ १५॥
अकरोद् हयमेधं यो तस्याश्वं भरतो विभुः।
सञ्चार पृथिव्यां हि यज्ञीयाश्वस्तदागमत्॥ १६॥
त्वत्पुरे तवदूतेन हृतः किल तवाज्ञया।
तस्मादहं प्रेषितो वै नेतुं चाश्वं त्वदन्तिके॥ १७॥
आञ्जनेयोऽस्मि रामस्य दूतोऽहं राक्षसेश्वर।
स रामः सोदरैः सार्द्धं सुग्रीवो वानरैः सह॥ १८॥
विभीषणो राक्षसैश्च भूपाः द्वीपनिवासिनः।
युष्मत्पुरसमीपे ते आगतः समरैषिणः॥ १९॥
रामचन्द्रो महाबाहुः दयां कृत्वा तवोपरि।
प्रेषयामास सामार्थं मामवेहि निशाचर॥ २०॥
एकापराधे सर्वेषां निधनं भवितादध्रुवम्।
अहं तुभ्यं हितं वच्मि शृणु मद्वाक्यमुत्तमम्॥ २१॥
सहस्त्रकण्ठदैत्येन्द्र [ह] यं तस्मै प्रदापय।
नो चेत् तव [? चेदप] हरिष्यन्ति रामबाणाः शिरांसि ते॥ २२॥

इति श्रीशैवरामायणे पार्वतीशङ्करसंवादे सहस्त्रकण्ठचरिते
चतुर्थोऽध्यायः।

पञ्चमोऽध्यायः

श्रीशङ्कर उवाच—

अथोवाच सहस्त्रास्यो हनूमन्तमिदं वचः।
रामः कः को भवानद्य कुत आयासि वानरः॥ १॥
अत्र किं तिष्ठसे मूढ न मोक्ष्ये तुरगं क्वचित्।
निवेदय त्वं गच्छाद्य तस्मै रामाय मद्वचः॥ २॥
इत्युक्त्वा राक्षसानाह गृह्यतामेष दुर्मतिः।
इत्युक्तं तद्वचः श्रुत्वा शुकरूपं विसृज्य सः॥ ३॥

खेचरः कपिरूपेण न्यपतत् तस्य मूर्द्धसु।
पातयित्वा किरीटानि भूषणानि विकीर्य सः॥ ४॥
उत्पाट्य स्तम्भमेकं तं ताडयामास मारुतिः।
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे दैत्या लोहिताक्षादयः कपिम्॥ ५॥
मुद्गरैः परिघैस्तीक्ष्णै शूलैः कुन्तैः परश्वधैः।
बाणैः सन्ताडयामासुः सहस्त्रग्रीवचोदिताः॥ ६॥
हनूमानपि बालेन ताडयामास राक्षसान्।
ततो हनूमान् उधृ [द्धृ] त्य रामसन्निधिमाययौ॥ ७॥
नमस्कृत्वाथ रामाय सहस्त्रग्रीवभाषितम्।
न्यवेदयत् स तत्सर्वं श्रुत्वा रामो महाबलः॥ ८॥
सुग्रीवपुरमाहूय बलं वानरराक्षसौ।
विभीषणमथामन्त्र्य ह्युवाच रघुसत्तमः॥ ९॥
गच्छन्तु वानराः सर्वे युद्धाय सह राक्षसैः।
इत्युक्तास्ते कपिश्रेष्ठाः प्राप्नुयुस्तत्पुरीं ततः॥ १०॥
शृङ्गारण्यारूह्य कपयः प्राकारानवतीर्य च।
सिंहनादं ततश्चक्रुः सुग्रीवप्रमुखास्तदा॥ ११॥
सहस्त्रकण्ठानुचरा निर्ययुर्नगरात् ततः।
गजवाजिरथारूढाः सहस्त्रग्रीवचोदिताः॥ १२॥
सिंहनादं प्रकुर्वाणास्तस्थुर्युद्धाभिकांक्षिणः।
दृष्ट्वाङ्गदः समायातान् सुग्रीवः पवनात्मजः॥ १३॥
गजो गवाक्षो गवयः शरभो नीलरम्भकौ।
सुषेणजीववत्तारमैंदद्विविदधूम्रकाः॥ १४॥
एते चान्ये कपिश्रेष्ठाः पर्वतानपि पादपान्।
गृहीत्वा संययुस्तत्र तदा रामप्रचोदिताः॥ १५॥
आहवे वानराः सर्वे युद्धं चक्रुः परस्परम्।
ज्वालामुखेन सुग्रीवो लोहितास्येन चाङ्गदः॥ १६॥
नीलोऽपि तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रेण रक्ताक्षेणाञ्जनीसुतः।
पादपै पर्वताग्रैश्च जघ्नुस्ते राक्षसान् बहून्॥ १७॥
राक्षसास्ते शरैस्तीक्ष्णैर्निर्जघ्नुः कपिकुञ्जरान्।
ज्वालामुखो ववर्षाजौ सुग्रीवे शरसन्ततिः॥ १८॥

तानन्तरिक्षे सुग्रीवः पादपैरच्छिनत् तदा।
ज्वालामुखं च सुग्रीवश्चरणाभ्यामताडयत्॥ १९॥
तस्य पादप्रहारेण ममार स हि राक्षसः।
रक्ताक्षो मारुतिं तत्र लोहितास्योऽङ्गदं तदा॥ २०॥
तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रोऽपि नीलञ्च ववर्ष शरसन्ततिम्।
लोहितास्यं बालिपुत्रो मुष्टिना प्रहरद् युधि॥ २१॥
तन्मुष्टिनैव निहतः सोऽपि देहममूमुचत्।
हनूमानपि रक्ताक्षं वालेनावेष्ट्य खेचरः॥ २२॥
भ्रामइ [यि] त्वा पातिते स चूर्णतां समुपागमत्।
नीलोऽपि [व] ज्र [दं] ष्ट्रस्य गृहीत्वा चरणौ तदा॥ २३॥
द्वेधा विभज्य तं वीरं पातयामास भूतले।
एवं विनिहताः सर्वे राक्षसाः कपिभि [स्त] दा॥ २४॥
हतशेषाः समाजग्मुः सहस्रग्रीवसन्निधिम्।
चतुर्णां राक्षसानां वै मरणं ते न्यवेदयन्॥ २५॥
ततः परं राक्षसपुङ्गवानां निशम्य नाशं कपिसैन्यमुख्यैः।
सहस्रकण्ठः प्रलयानलो यथा जाज्वल्यमानः स रणाय निर्ययौ॥ २६॥

इति श्रीशैवरामायणे पार्वतीशङ्करसंवादे सहस्रकण्ठचरिते
पञ्चमोऽध्यायः।

षष्ठोऽध्यायः

शिव उवाच—

श्रृणु प्रिये कथामेतां सहस्रग्रीवरक्षसः।
श्रोतृणां परमाश्चर्यकारिणीं शुभदायिनीम्॥ १॥
सहस्रकण्ठो दैत्येन्द्रः कोटीनां कोटिभिर्वृतः।
राक्षसानां च मुख्यानां युद्धे विजयकांक्षिणाम्॥ २॥
पताकाध्वजमुख्यैश्च मौक्तिकछत्रचामरैः।
बन्दिमागधसूतैश्च तूर्यघोषैरलङ्कृतः॥ ३॥
भेरीमृदङ्गनादैश्च चतुर्वाद्यविघोषितैः।
नागाश्वरथपादातैः निर्ययौ नगरात्ततः॥ ४॥

उल्लङ्घ्य सप्तप्राकारान् योजनानां शतोन्नतान्।
हस्तान् प्रसार्य संगृह्य सुग्रीवादीनभक्षयत्॥ ५॥
वदनेषु प्रविश्यैते कर्णेभ्यः कपिकुञ्जराः।
नासिकाभ्यश्च निर्गत्य रामसन्निधिमाययुः॥ ६॥
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे देवाः यक्षविद्याधरोरगाः।
किन्नराः गुह्यकाः सिद्धाः साध्याः किम्पुरुषास्तदा॥ ७॥
ब्रह्मर्षयो महर्ष्याद्याः पिशाचाः दैत्यराक्षसाः।
द्रष्टुं समागताः युद्धं रामसाहस्रकण्ठयोः॥ ८॥
दृष्ट्वा तस्याहवं घोरं बबु [भू] वुर्भयविह्वलाः।
न शक्नुस्तत्र ते स्थातुं रणभूमिं विहाय वै॥ ९॥
विमानेष्वपि चारुह्य ह्याकाशे दूरतः स्थिताः।
सहस्रकण्ठदैत्येन्द्रो गगने ददृशे च तान्॥ १०॥
एतेऽपि शत्रवो मे वै प्रहरामि समागतान्।
एवं विचार्य मनसि दुष्टो राक्षससत्तमः॥ ११॥
रणभूमिं विहायाशु गतोड्डीय क्षणात्ततः।
उड्डीयोड्डीय संगृह्य विमानानि तदासुरः॥ १२॥
चिक्षेप भूतले दैत्यो क्रुधा तानहनत्प्रिये।
ऋषीन् दृष्ट्वा मुमोचा॰॰ ब्रह्मर्षीनन्नलप्रभान्॥ १३॥
तदा ह्यनर्थमूलं च राक्षसं भीमविक्रमम्।
अवोचन् ऋषयस्तत्र निर्भयाः गतसाध्वसाः॥ १४॥
श्रृणु राक्षस दैत्येन्द्र वदामस्ते प्रियं हितम्।
रामो राक्षसनाशार्थं ह्यवतीर्णोऽस्ति भूतले॥ १५॥
दशग्रीवस्य हननं सपुत्रं सहबान्धवम्।
कृतं रामेण च पुरा श्रुतं वाल्मीकिनोदितम्॥ १६॥
शतग्रीवस्य मरणं यस्यानुचरहस्ततः।
पाताललङ्के यज्जातं वसिष्ठस्य मुखाच्छ्रुतम्॥ १७॥
शाकद्वीपनिवासी च रावणो शतकन्धरः।
नाशितः सीतया पत्न्या अगस्त्येनोदितं पुरा॥ १८॥
रामायणेऽद्भुते जातो रावणस्य वधोद्यमः।
एवं विधाश्च बहवो राक्षसाः पिशिताशनाः॥ १९॥

नाशित [ाः] [ते] न रामेण तस्मात् त्वं सङ्गरं त्यज।
यज्ञीयाश्वं तस्य देहि यदि जीवितुमिच्छसि॥ २०॥
इति ते ह्यब्रुवन् सर्वे ऋषयश्च तपोधनाः।
ऋ [षी] णां वचनं श्रुत्वा प्रोवाच वचनं तदा॥ २१॥
शृणुध्वम् ऋषयः सर्वे यद्यसौ निहनिष्यति।
न मेऽस्ति भीश्च मरणे यदि हन्ता ममास्तु "वै॥ २२॥
विनाशी [शो] विग्रहोऽस्तीह तस्यार्थे किं विलापनम्।
वीराणां च स्वभावो हि न पश्चात् परिवर्तनम्॥ २३॥
इति सहस्त्रकण्ठवचो निशम्य मुनयो विमला विचार्य मानसे।
न समर्था भवितव्यनिवारणे कथनं विफलं न चास्मदीयानाम्॥ २४॥

इति श्रीशैवरामायणे शिवपार्वतीसंवादे सहस्त्रकण्ठ-ऋषिप्रस्तावे षष्ठोऽध्यायः।

सप्तमोऽध्यायः

शिव उवाच—

सहस्त्रकण्ठदैत्योऽपि परसैन्यमुवाच ह।
पराक्रमं प्रकुर्वन्तु यत्साहाय्येन चागताः॥ १॥
इति दैत्यवचः श्रुत्वा भरताद्याः महाबलाः।
युद्धं चक्रुस्तदा ते वै सहसैन्यैः पुरस्कृताः॥ २॥
क्षणेन सर्वसैन्यं तद् भक्षितं तेन रक्षसा।
भरतेनोदितं सर्वं रामायामिततेजसे॥ ३॥
स्वसैन्यं भक्षितं श्रुत्वा राघवः परवीरहा।
आहूय वानरेन्द्रञ्च हनूमन्तमथाङ्गदम्॥ ४॥
पुष्पके तान् समारोप्य स्वयमप्यारुरोहतम्।
सर्वेऽपि पुष्पके स्थित्वा युद्धं कर्तुं प्रचक्रमुः॥ ५॥
अन्तरिक्षगते तस्मिन् पुष्पके कामगे शुभे।
रामो विभीषणं प्राह वचनं मधुराक्षरम्॥ ६॥
विभीषणासुरश्रेष्ठ पश्य साहस्त्रकन्धरम्।
कुम्भकर्णोऽतिकायश्च दशास्यः शतकन्धरः॥ ७॥

एतेऽपि राक्षसाः सर्वे युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयाः।
दृश्यन्तेऽत्र न सन्देहो कुरु युद्धं ममाज्ञया॥८॥
अनुज्ञातः स रामेण ह्यन्तरिक्षगतोऽब्रवीत्।
विभीषणोऽहं दैत्येन्द्र युद्धं कुरु मया सह॥९॥
इत्युदीर्य शरान् तीक्ष्णान् स ववर्ष बहूनपि।
विभीषणविमुक्तांस्ताञ्छ [ञ्छ] रान् शिचच्छेद सायकैः॥१०॥
ततः परं तु शत्रुघ्नो भरतो लक्ष्मणो धनुः।
सज्जं कृत्वा प्रमुमुचुः शरवर्षाणि संयुगे॥११॥
सहस्रकण्ठस्तान् छित्वा नाराचान् स्वायुधैश्च ह।
विभीषणं समालिङ्ग्य वध्वो (बद्ध्वो) त्क्षिप्य करैर्भुवि॥१२॥
पादाभ्यां घट्टितो तेन मूर्च्छितोऽभूद् विभीषणः।
धृत्वा धनूंषि हस्तानां सहस्रेण तदासुरः॥१३॥
शरान् हस्तसहस्रेण ववर्ष कपिकुञ्जरान्।
सुग्रीवमङ्गदं धूम्रं नलं नीलं समीरजम्॥१४॥
तारं दधिमुखं रम्भं सर्वान् वानरपुङ्गवान्।
पातयामास विशिखैरनेकैः सः पृथक् पृथक्॥१५॥
संधाय विविधास्त्राणि शत्रुघ्नं भरतं तदा।
लक्ष्मणञ्च महावीरो ववर्षाम्बुदसन्निभः॥१६॥
एकं दश शतं तेषु सहस्रमयुतं तदा।
नियुतं प्रयुतं कोटिप्रकोटीः शतकोटिकाः॥१७॥
अर्बुदन्यर्बुदन्येव सन्धाय विशिखान्धनौ।
शिरोऽङ्गपादपर्यन्तं भेदयामास वानरान्॥१८॥
भरतस्य च सौमित्रेः शत्रुघ्नस्य व्यदारयत्।
आभान्ति शरनिर्भिन्नाः पुष्पिता इव किंशुकाः॥१९॥
तदा लक्ष्मणशत्रुघ्नभरताः समितिञ्जयाः।
प्रमाणातीते सर्वाङ्गे सहस्रशतयोजने॥२०॥
मेरुर्नियुतविस्तारयोजनो दैत्यवल्लभः।
राक्षसेन्द्रोऽद्रिसङ्घातवेष्टितः स इवाबभौ॥२१॥
तस्य गात्रसमाश्लिष्टा वानरा सम्प्रकाशिरे।
सुरालयसमाश्लिष्टा लोका इव रणाङ्गणे॥२२॥

सहस्त्रकण्ठः संगृह्य पाणिभिस्तानभक्षयत्।
अर्द्दयत् पादसङ्घातैर्दिव्यास्त्रैरप्यपातयत्॥ २३॥
सहस्त्रबाणैर्विव्याध सुग्रीवं सविभीषणम्।
भरतं लक्ष्मणं तत्र शत्रुघ्नं युगपत् पृथक्॥ २४॥
तस्य तीक्ष्णशराघातैः सर्वे निपतिता भुवि।
पातइ [यि] त्वा चमूं सर्वां ससुग्रीवां सराघवाम्॥ २५॥
सराक्षसां तदा कृत्वा सहस्त्रग्रीवः आबभौ।
दृष्ट्वा रामो महातेजाश्चमूं विस्मयमागतः॥ २६॥
ससज्जं धनुरादाय सशरोऽभिमुखो ययौ।
एवं समुद्यतं वीरं राघवं रणकोविदम्॥ २७॥
समालक्ष्य तदा धीरः प्रलयाम्बुधरो यथा।
आजगाम तदा गर्जन् ज्वलज्वा [ज्वा] लानलोपमः॥ २८॥
कृताट्टहासवदनः कुर्वन् रामस्य विस्मयम्।
दिव्यास्त्रशस्त्रसंयुक्तः प्रपेदे तं रघूत्तमम्॥ २९॥
त्रैलोक्यवीरेण रघूत्तमेन वै मृगाधिपेनैव सहस्त्रकन्धरः।
आयोधने मत्तगजेन्द्रवत्तदा समाययावात्तधनुः शरासनः॥ ३०॥

इति श्रीशैवरामायणे पार्वतीश्वरसंवादे सप्तमोऽध्यायः।

अष्टमोऽध्यायः

ईश्वर उवाच—

सहस्त्रकन्धरो हस्तैर्धृतबाणशरासनः।
रामस्याभिमुखे स्थित्वा जगाद परुषाक्षरम्॥ १॥
त्यक्त्वा राज्यं भवान् राम दण्डकारण्यमाश्रितः।
विराधञ्च कबन्धञ्च हत्वा प्राप्य समीरजम्॥ २॥
सुग्रीवसहितः संख्ये बालिनं बलशालिनम्।
हत्वा तं वानरैर्युक्तः सीतायाः कुशलं तदा॥ ३॥
ज्ञात्वा जलनिधिं तीर्त्वा रुन्धन् लङ्कापुरीं ततः।
जित्वा दशास्यं सङ्ग्रामे पौलस्त्यं लोककण्टकम्॥ ४॥

अयोध्यां सीतया सार्द्धं प्राप्तवानसि राघव।
दशास्यं प्राकृतं जित्वा बलवानिति गर्वितः॥ ५॥
द्वीपान् तीर्त्वोदधीन् सर्वान् किमायासि ममान्तिकम्।
इन्द्रादिलोकपालांश्च जित्वाहं रणकर्मणि॥ ६॥
प्राकृतानि हता ये ये राक्षसाः रावणादयः।
मन्यसेऽमुं तथा राम प्रख्यातबलपौरुषम्॥ ७॥
अवेहि त्वं रणे शूरं सहस्त्रग्रीवमुत्तमम्।
त्वदीयाश्वं न मोक्ष्येऽहमनुजानामि त्वाधुना॥ ८॥
गच्छेदानीं बलैर्युक्तः त्वदीयं पत्तनं पुनः।
पश्यतस्ते न चेत्सर्वं बलमत्र वनौकसाम्॥ ९॥
भक्षयिष्याम्यहं त्वाद्य रणे सभ्रातृकं नृप।
निशम्य राघवो धीरः सहस्त्रग्रीवभाषितम्॥ १०॥
अब्रवीद् राक्षसं वाक्यं सहस्त्रग्रीवमुद्धतम्।
त्वं मुधा कत्थ [त्थ्य] से दैत्य दर्शयस्व पराक्रमम्॥ ११॥
मदीयं तुरगं वाद्य यज्ञीयं मे ददस्व तम्।
नो चेन्मद्विशिखैस्तीक्ष्णैः पातयिष्ये शिरांसि ते॥ १२॥
इत्युक्तः स च दैत्येन्द्रो ववर्ष शरसन्ततिम्।
रामोऽपि विशिखैस्तीक्ष्णैराच्छिनद् विशिखावलिम्॥ १३॥
शक्तितोमरकुन्तासिभिन्द्रि [न्दि] पालैरभेदयत्।
ऐन्द्रं पाशुपतं याम्यं वायव्यं वारुणं तदा॥ १४॥
सौरं ब्राह्मं कौबेरमाग्नेयं वैष्णवं परम्।
दैत्येन्द्रस्य विनाशाय मुमोचास्त्राणि राघवः॥ १५॥
जहार समरे दैत्यस्तदास्त्राणि शरोत्तमैः।
इत्थं राघवदैत्येन्द्रौ भ्रामयन्तौ परस्परम्॥ १६॥
वलयागामिनौ धीरौ नानागतिविशारदौ।
कण्ठीरवनिभौ तूभावन्योन्यजयकांक्षिणौ॥ १७॥
युद्ध्यमानौ तदा शूरौ पर्वतेन्द्राविव स्थितौ।
अशोभतामुभौ युद्धे प्रख्यातबलपौरुषौ॥ १८॥
अन्तरिक्षान्तरस्थौच्चौ मल्लयुद्धविशारदौ।
परस्परोपमौ ख्यातौ समुद्राविव दुर्धरौ॥ १९॥

सर्वे देवाः सदैतेयाः यक्षाः साध्याश्च खेचराः।
विस्मयं परमं जग्मुः समुद्वीक्ष्य रणं तयोः॥ २०॥
सुग्रीवो ह्यङ्गदो नीलो हनूमांश्च विभीषणः।
पादपैः पर्वतैर्दन्तैर्नखरैर्बालघट्टनैः॥ २१॥
निजघ्नुः राक्षसान् सर्वान् ज्वलज्वा [ज्वा] लानलोपमान्।
यामार्द्धेन हताः सर्वे राक्षसाः शङ्कुकोटयः॥ २२॥

इति श्रीशैवरामायणे पार्वतीश्वरसंवादे अष्टमोऽध्यायः।

नवमोऽध्यायः

ईश्वर उवाच—

अथ रामो महातेजाः भल्लैराशीविषोपमैः।
छेदयामास हस्तांश्च शिरांस्यस्य बहूनि च॥ १॥
समुद्वीक्ष्य तदा रामं स्वशिरः करघातकम्।
गृहीत्वा भ्रामइ [यि] त्वालं वेगेनाक्षिपत् त्क्षि [क्षि] तौ॥ २॥
अर्धचन्द्रेणान्तरिक्षे छित्वा तस्य करौ भुवि।
पातयामास रामोऽपि लाघवं दर्शयन् रिपोः॥ ३॥
सहस्रकण्ठः दैत्येन्द्रो विस्मयाकुलमानसः।
राममालक्ष्य समरे प्रवृद्धं रणपण्डितम्॥ ४॥
एकावशेषितशिरा उवाच रुषयान्वितः।
कुतो गच्छसि राम त्वं रणे त्वां न त्यजाम्यहम्॥ ५॥
यज्ञीयाश्वं न दास्यामि भवान् यदि पुमान् भवेत्।
जित्वा मां समरे राम गृहाण तुरगं तव॥ ६॥
नो चेत् प्राणान् हरिष्यामि सर्वेषां च वनौकसाम्।
ससोदरस्य सैन्यस्य वृथायासेन किं प्रभो॥ ७॥
विदार्यमाणो यास्येऽहं त्वदस्त्रैर्मुक्तिवल्लभाम्।
इत्युक्तवन्तं दैत्येन्द्रं सहस्रास्यं रघूत्तमः॥ ८॥
नारायणास्त्रं सन्धाय कार्मुके मुमुचे तदा।
तदस्त्रं मन्त्रजुष्टं सत् ज्वलज्वा [ज्वा] लानलोपमम्॥ ९॥
प्रविश्य हृदयं तस्य प्राणान् हृत्वाययौ पुनः।
सहस्रकण्ठनालेभ्यस्तद्रामान्तिकमाययौ॥ १०॥

रामबाणविनिर्भिन्नं शरीरं सन्त्यन् [सन्त्यजन्] रणे।
सहस्त्रफणवान् शेषः आसीद् विष्णुपदं गतः।
रामेण निहते दैत्यश्रेष्ठे शेषाः प्रदुद्रुवुः॥ ११॥
ततो हृष्टाः सगन्धर्वाः देवाः ह्यर्षिगणास्तदा।
बभूवुस्ते तत्र देवि रामचन्द्रप्रसादतः॥ १२॥
परस्परमवोचन्स्ते देवाः सेन्द्राः मुदान्विताः।
अहो भाग्यमहोधन्याः कृता रामेण वै वयम्॥ १३॥
यदा प्रभृतिः रामोऽसौ ह्यवतीर्णोऽस्ति भूतले।
तदा प्रभृतिः लोकानां क्षेममासीन्निरन्तरम्॥ १४॥
इत्युक्त्वा च तदा रामं प्रणम्य च पुनः पुनः[१]॥ १५॥
रामचन्द्रोऽपि तान् वीक्ष्य मुमुदे हर्षनिर्भरः।
उवाच कृपयाविष्टो देवानां पुरतस्तदा॥ १६॥
भवतां कृपया मेऽभूद् विजयो नात्रसंशयः।
इति वाक्यं समाकर्ण्य रामचन्द्रस्य धीमतः॥ १७॥
आशिषं ते प्रयुञ्जानास्तदा [स्वर्लोकम्] आययुः।
अथ दैत्येन्द्रनिहते राक्षसाश्च वशानुगाः॥ १८॥
कृता विभीषणेनैवं रणमूर्द्धनि चासुराः।
अगस्तिद [मना] द् भूमिं विशन्तमिव भूधरम्॥ १९॥
विन्ध्याख्यं रामचन्द्रस्य सायकं नि [? सायकेन] हतं रणे।
सहस्त्रकण्ठमुद्वीक्ष्य रामस्य निकटं ययौ॥ २०॥
ब्रह्मादिभिः सुरैः सार्द्धं पुष्पवृष्टिं मुदान्वितः।
ततो ह्यमृतवृष्टिञ्च ववर्ष मघवा तदा॥ २१॥
तद् बभूवोत्थितं सर्वं रामसैन्यं सविस्मयम।
इति ते कथितं सुभ्रु रामस्य चरितं शुभम्॥ २२॥

इति श्रीशैवे रामायणे पार्वती ईश्वर [पार्वतीश्वरसंवादे] सहस्त्रकण्ठवधो नाम नवमोऽध्यायः।

१, २. अत्र लेखकप्रमादजन्य पाठत्रुटिरिव प्रतीयते।

दशमोऽध्यायः

ईश्वर उवाच—

रामचन्द्रेण निहतो सर्वराक्षसभूपतिः।
राक्षसा ह्यवशिष्टा ये तदा दीना बभूविरे॥ १॥
शोकेन महताविष्टा जाता समरमूर्द्धनि।
पुष्कराक्षमुवोचन्स्ते [? मवोचन् ते] किंकर्तव्यमतो वद॥ २॥
ततः सहस्त्रतनयो पुष्कराक्षो महाद्युतिः।
विभीषणस्य पुरतो ययौ शोकभयान्वितः॥ ३॥
प्रणम्य पादयोस्तस्य रक्ष रक्षेति चाब्रवीत्।
तच्छ्रुत्वा वचनं तस्य पुष्कराक्षस्य धीमतः॥ ४॥
तदा विभीषणं प्रोचे न भूयात्ते भयं सुत।
अहं ते रामचन्द्रस्य निकटे स्थापयामि वै॥ ५॥
रामचन्द्रस्य कृपापात्रं भव राक्षससत्तम।
इत्युक्त्वा करुणाविष्टो रामचन्द्रकृपां स्मरन्॥ ६॥
सहस्त्रग्रीवतनयं पुष्कराक्षं विभीषणः।
आदाय रामपदयोः पातइ [यि] त्वा वचोऽब्रवीत्॥ ७॥
सहस्त्रग्रीवपुत्रोऽयं विधेयस्तव किङ्करः।
राम राघव राजेन्द्र शरणागतवत्सल॥ ८॥
अभयं देहि चास्मै त्वं दीनानां परिपालकः।
इति विभीषणवचो श्रुत्वा रामः प्रतापवान्॥ ९॥
पतन्तं चरणद्वन्द्वे पुष्कराक्षं महाभुजः।
समालक्ष्य ततो राम उत्तिष्ठेति वचोऽब्रवीत्॥ १०॥
अस्यां पुर्यां चित्रवत्यां पुष्कराक्ष सुखं वस।
कुरु तातस्य संस्कारं भयं मत्तोऽस्ति नो तव॥ ११॥
इत्युक्त्वा भरतं प्राह शरणागतवत्सलः।
एनमादाय गच्छ त्वं पुरीं चित्रवतीं शुभाम्॥ १२॥
सहस्त्रग्रीवसंस्कारं कारइ [यि] त्वा यथाविधि।
पुष्कराक्षं चित्रवत्यामभिषिच्य तदात्मजम्॥ १३॥

तं मन्त्रिवर्गसहितमानयस्व मदन्तिके।
इत्युक्तो भरतः श्रीमान् पुष्कराक्षेण संयुतः॥ १४॥
प्रविश्य राजमार्गेण ददर्श भवनोत्तमम्।
सहस्त्रग्रीवसदनं सुमेरुशिखरोपमम्॥ १५॥
सारिकाकीरसंघुष्टं केकिमालाविराजितम्।
नानारत्नसमाकीर्णं कपाटद्वारशोभितम्॥ १६॥
शातकुम्भमयैर्दिव्यैः कलशैः सुमनोहरम्।
मेरुप्राकारसंयुक्तं वातायनशतान्वितम्॥ १७॥
पताकाध्वजसङ्कीर्णं वितानालङ्कृतं महत्।
मुक्तामणिस्वस्तिकैश्च सर्वतोभद्रसंयुतम्॥ १८॥
नानाकुसुमसञ्छन्नं प्रमदापुञ्जरञ्जितम्।
राजमण्डलसन्दीप्तसौधराजिविराजितम् ॥ १९॥
तस्मिन्नन्तःपुरे धीमान् प्रविशन् भरतस्तदा।
दुःखितं स्त्रीजनं सर्वमाश्वास्य कृपया पुनः॥ २०॥
सहस्त्रग्रीवसंस्कारं कारयामास सूनुना।
दशाहानन्तरं कार्यं यत्तत्कर्म समाप्य [च]॥ २१॥
रत्नसिंहासने दिव्ये कृतकौतुकमङ्गले।
संस्थापयन् पुष्कराक्षमभिषिच्य तदात्मजम्॥ २२॥
सर्वतीर्थोदकैस्तत्र सौ [वर्ण] कलश स्थितैः।
[म] न्त्रिवर्गसमायुक्तं छत्रचामरशोभितम्॥ २३॥
पुष्कराक्षं समादाय रामान्तिकमुपाययौ।
अथ रामस्य चरणौ स्पृशन्स सार [? सरसिजे] क्षणः॥ २४॥
आनीय तुरगं प्रीत्या भक्त्या रामाय संददौ।
किङ्करोऽहं तव विभो तदाज्ञापय यन्मतम्॥ २५॥
एवं विनिर्जित्य सहस्त्रकन्धरं सुग्रीवरक्षोनृपसंघयुक्तः।
ब्रह्मादिभिर्देवगणैः सुपूजितस्तदा बभौ तत्र सुखेन रामः॥ २६॥

इति श्रीशैवरामायणे पार्वतीश्वरसंवादे सहस्त्रग्रीवसुताभिषेको नाम दशमोऽध्यायः।

एकादशोऽध्यायः

ईश्वर उवाच—

श्रृणु देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि ब्रह्मा देवर्षिसंयुतः।
उवाच वचनं तत्र रामं राजीवलोचनम्॥ १॥

ब्रह्मोवाच—

त्वमेव परमं ब्रह्म त्वयि सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम्।
दृश्यसे सर्वभूतेषु ब्राह्मणेषु विशेषतः॥ २॥
दिक्षु सर्वासु गगने पर्वतेषु वनेषु च।
अन्ते पृथिव्याः सलिले वायौ वह्नौ महोदधौ॥ ३॥
अहं ते हृदयं राम जिह्वा देवी सरस्वती।
देवा गात्रेषु रोमाणि महोदेवोप्यऽहंकृतिः॥ ४॥
सप्तर्षयो वसिष्ठाद्याः देवाः साग्निपुरोगमाः।
पशुपक्षिमृगाः कीटाः समुद्राः कुलपर्वताः॥ ५॥
स्थावराः जङ्गमाः ये ये भुवनानि चतुर्दश।
वृक्षौषधिलताः देव गात्रेषु तव निर्मिताः॥ ६॥
कुक्षौ त्वदीये तिष्ठन्ति परमाणव एव ते।
सर्वेषां जन्मनिधनं प्रापकोऽसि न संशयः॥ ७॥
मायाश्रयत्वाज्जीवानां पिता भवसि सुव्रत।
सर्वव्यापी सर्वसाक्षी चिन्मयस्तमसः परः॥ ८॥
निर्विकल्पो निराभासो निशं [निश्शं] को निरुपद्रवः।
निर्लेपः सकलाध्यक्षो महापुरुष ईश्वरः॥ ९॥
अहं विष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च शङ्करश्च निरञ्जनः।
त्वत्तो नान्यः परो देवस्त्रिषु लोकेषु विद्यते॥ १०॥
इति स्तुत्वा दैवगणैश्चतुक्त्रोऽब्रवीत्पुनः।
राम त्वं दुष्टनाशाय ह्यवतीर्णो रघोः कुले॥ ११॥
अस्माभिः प्रार्थितः पूर्वं तत्सत्यं कृतवानसि।
याहि राम गृहीत्वाश्वं यज्ञशेषं समापय॥ १२॥

कलास्तवसुरेन्द्रादीन् सन्तर्पय विधानतः।
एकादशसहस्राणामब्दानां पालय क्षितिम्॥ १३॥
ततः परं निजं धाम यास्यामि त्वं परात्परम्।
इति विज्ञाप्य देवेशो ययौ देवगणै [स्] सहं [? सह]॥ १४॥
अथागमत्पुष्कराक्षो पूजामादाय सुप्रभाम्।
रत्नसिंहासनं प्रादाद् रामायामिततेजसे॥ १५॥
रामस्य चरणद्वन्द्वं रत्नपुष्पैरपूजत्।
पुपूज परया भक्त्या नमस्कृत्वा पुनः पुनः॥ १६॥
रामाज्ञां च गृहीत्वाऽसौ ययौ स्वपुरीं प्रति।
ततो रामस्तदा तत्र प्रोवाच जनसंसदि॥ १७॥
किंकर्तव्यमितोऽस्माभिः यूयं वदत मामकाः।
इत्युक्ते च तदा रामे सुग्रीवः प्राह भूमिपम्॥ १८॥
अत्रेत्य कार्यं सर्वं वै जातं मे भा [वि] तत्वतः।
गमनं दृश्यते राजन् मेरौ हि कमलेक्षण॥ १९॥
सुग्रीवस्य वचस्तथ्यं मत्वा रामः प्रतापवान्।
सर्वानाज्ञाप्य गमने [रामः सैन्य-] समावृतः॥ २०॥
पुष्पकं तत्समारुह्य देवतागणपूजितः।
आगत्य येन मार्गेण ययौ मार्गेण तेन सः॥ २१॥
सप्तद्वी [पा] नतिक्रम्य हेमाद्रिं समुपागमत्।
तत्र देवगणान्नत्वा मेरौ स्थित्वा महाबलः॥ २२॥
मेरुणा दत्तमखिलं यत्प्राप्तः प्रगृह्य सः॥
भेरीरवैस्तूर्यघोषैर्विदारितदिगन्तरः॥ २३॥
सर्वैः साकं मुदा रामो भ्रातृभिः सहितः प्रभुः।
मङ्गलालङ्कृतं दिव्यमयोध्यानगरं ययौ॥ २४॥

इति श्रीशैवरामायणे पार्वतीश्वरसंवादे

एकोदशोऽध्यायः।

द्वादशोऽध्यायः

ईश्वर उवाच—

अथ रामो रघुपतिर्यजने कृतधीर्मुदा।
सीतया सहितः श्रीमानश्वमेधे महाक्रतौ॥ १॥
कृत्वाथ ऋत्विग्वरणं वसिष्ठादीन्महामुनीन्।
वसिष्ठो वामदेवश्च विश्वामित्रोऽथ गौतमः॥ २॥
जाबालिर्जमदग्निश्च मार्कण्डेयोऽपि मौद्गलः।
कश्यपोऽत्रिर्भरद्वाजः सुतीक्ष्णोऽगस्त्यनारदौ॥ ३॥
रामादयो मुनिश्रेष्ठा रामस्य परमात्मनः।
यथाशास्त्रमनुक्रम्य ह्यश्वमेधे महाक्रतौ॥ ४॥
शालाश्च सरयूतीरे तासु वेदीः प्रकल्प्य च।
सीतया सहितं रामं सदीक्षामुपवेश्य च॥ ५॥
आदौ तु प्रातःसवनं पश्चान्माध्यंदिनं तदा।
तृतीयं सवनं चेति कर्म कुर्युर्यथाविधिः॥ ६॥
स्वाहाकारवषट्कारैः ऋग्यजुःसाममन्त्रजैः।
अग्निष्टोमातिरात्रौ च पौण्डरीकमतः परम्॥ ७॥
चयनं गारुडं होमं प्रकृतिविकृतीस्ततः।
कोविदारैस्त्रिभिः षड्भिर्बिल्वौदुम्बरखादिरैः॥ ८॥
वस्त्रालङ्करणोपेता यूपास्तत्रैकविंशतिः।
रात्रावश्वस्य शुश्रूषां कुर्वती जानकी तदा॥ ९॥
न्यवसत् सा ततो देवाः समाहूताः समाययुः।
बबन्धुस्तत्रयूपेषु कुशाद्ये त्रिशतं पशून्॥ १०॥
यूपाग्रे रज्जुभिर्बद्धं मन्त्रपूतं हयं ततः।
छेदयित्वा वसिष्ठस्तद् वपामुधृ [? द्धृ] त्य सर्त्विजः॥ ११॥
आश्रावयेति मन्त्रेण हव्यवाहे व्यनिक्षिपत्।
देहं निकृन्तनं कृत्वा ह्यङ्गैर्होममथाकरोत्॥ १२॥
एवं शतत्रयस्यापि पशूनामङ्गहोमकम्।
रामस्य हयमेधे ये द्रष्टुमभ्यागताः जनाः॥ १३॥

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाः वैश्याः शूद्रास्तत्र सविस्मयाः।
अहोरात्रे ददावन्नमागतेभ्यः सुसत्कृतम्॥ १४॥
अन्नकूटैश्चबहुभिः पर्वता इव संस्थितैः।
सूपैर्नानाविधैः शाकैर्हिङ्गूलवणमिश्रितैः॥ १५॥
मारीच्याप्राज्यसम्मिश्रैः रसालफलसंयुतम्।
तिलमाषादिचूर्णाक्तैः रसैर्बहुभिरन्वितम्॥ १६॥
द्राक्षेक्षुरम्भापनसनारिकेलफलैर्युतम् ।
सिद्धार्थरससंयुक्तैश्चूतखण्डैरलङ्कृतम् ॥ १७॥
सौवर्णे राजते रत्ने भाजने पर्णनिर्मिते।
शाल्योदनं विनिक्षिप्य प्राज्यमाज्यपुटेषु॥ १८॥
यथारुचि प्रभुञ्जध्वं भुञ्जध्वमिति चाब्रुवन्।
गृह्यतां गृह्यतामन्नं भूयो भूयो ह्यपेक्षितम्॥ १९॥
इति सर्वेषु तृप्तेषु भक्ष्यैरुच्चावचैरपि।
हयमेधे महायज्ञे राघवः सी [त] या सह॥ २०॥
दीक्षान्तेऽवभृतस्नातो शतकोटीः सुवर्णकाः [गाः]।
आनीय ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च ऋत्विग्म्यः प्रददौ नृ [पः]॥ २१॥
अध्वर्यौदा [? द्गा] तृहोतृभ्यो दशकोटिसुवर्णकम्।
बहुमान्य [ान्] तदा भूपान् नानाद्वीपेभ्य आगतान्॥ २२॥
यथार्ह...............[२] [कृ] त्वा...............[३] समन्वितान्।
सुग्रीवराक्षसेन्द्रं च प्रस्थाप्य परिवारकैः॥ २३॥
सी [त] या सह रामोऽपि [सोदरैः स] हितोऽनघः।
[दश] वर्षसह [स्रा] णि ह्ययोध्यां पालयन् पुरीम्॥ २४॥
चक्रे रामोऽश्वमेधानामेकोन [शत] मेव सः।
अ [न्तिमे] जानकीं हित्वा वाल्मीकेराश्रमं प्रति॥ २५॥
सीताप्रतिनिधिं कृत्वा सुवर्णप्रतिमां तदा।
अश्व [मेधञ्] चकारासौ भ्रातृभिः सहितः शुचिः॥ २६॥
पश्चाद् वर्षसहस्रञ्च पालयन् पृथिवीमिमाम्।
अयोध्यायां विनिक्षिप्य पुत्रो कुशलवाविह॥ २७॥

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२. पाठः कीटभक्षितोऽस्ति। 'यथार्हमर्हणं कृत्वा......' इति प्रतीयते।
३. पाठः कीटभक्षितः।

सोदरैः सहितो रामः साकेते पुरवासिभिः।
तृणपाषाणवृक्षाद्यैः स्नात्त्वैव सरयूजले॥ २८॥
निजनामयशो भूमौ स्थापयित्वा दिवं ययौ।
रामस्य पुरतः सीता प्रविवेश धरातलम्॥ २९॥
पुनर्वैकुण्ठमासाद्य चिक्रीडे रमया सह।
वैदेहीरूपया रामो विष्णुरूपेण सर्वदा॥ ३०॥

ईश्वर उवाच—

श्रीरामविजयं नाम पवित्रं पापनाशनम्।
रामस्य चरितं पुण्यं सहस्त्रग्रीवमर्दनम्॥ ३१॥
ये शृण्वन्ति सदा भक्त्या ये लिखन्ति मनीषिणः।
ये वाचयन्ति सततं मुच्यन्ते सर्वपातकात्॥ ३२॥
एतन्मया निगदितं तुभ्यं पर्वतनन्दिनि।
शैवमेनं वदिष्यन्ति अद्य प्रभृतिः मा [गधाः]॥ ३३॥

इति श्रीशैवरामायणे पार्वतीश्वरसंवादे सहस्त्रग्रीवरामचरिते द्वादशोऽध्यायः।

पुष्पिका—१२ संमत् १९५६ फालगून शुद्ध चतुर्दश्यां लिखितम्।

TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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